# FREE WORLD

*A Monthly Magazine*

*devoted to*

*Democracy and World Affairs*

**VOLUME I, No. 4** **JANUARY 1942**


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# BREAD AND LOVE

I, Tristram, since my life roots deep in pain
Like ancient Tristram's have the right again
To say the final things, and say them plain,
Being a poet. And I say them now.

I say you people have the right to trust
In certain things that will be, when our wars
Are over, or within them, if they last:
Water, I say, is one. There will always be
Blue water through the branches of some tree
And water high up as a wall behind some houses
And white sails going up, water by roads,
And maybe beasts will drink it under their loads,
Water in forests, and thin deer will drink it,
Or birds will dip it up drop after drop,
Too feverishly beautiful to stop,
Lifting bright beaks to thank whoever made it.
I say there will be hills, and trees will climb them
Gripping the rock with strong and knowing roots,
There will be hills with white clouds, and some fruits.
There will be cows to milk because it is evening
And they were lately big and bland with young,
New calves will totter under a rough tongue,
There will be milk for lambs and colts and others,
There will be fires lit and some songs sung.
Maybe the shapes of houses, cities, classes,
Vehicles, and laws will somewhat change,
But tools will not and mothers leaning to babies,
Giving the breast to them, will never seem strange.
No man's hand will ever be too bony,
Too cold from killing his own kind to take
A small son's hand in it and warm its fingers,
And when a strong man dies, some hearts will ache.
Always there will be some shapes like plows
Opening up furrows, sons got, hay in mows.
I do not think we ever shall finish with trees
Or have enough of honey, lambs, or bees.
I think a brother will be harder, tenderer
On a brother than on other men
And, being so, maybe will have wisdom
To be a brother to some nine or ten
Men who have a different man for father.
I think, too, that young men always will rather
Be with girls than with their kind in May.
There will be bread and love. These things, I say.

*ROBERT P. TRISTRAM COFFIN*



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# EDITORIAL

THERE is war now over the whole world.

The final test between the free world and the slave world has begun. President Roosevelt, in his message to the Congress, on December 15, 1941, made clear the logical sequel to an old battle of ideas: "In 1936, Japan associated itself with Germany by entering the anti-Komintern Pact * * * Its real purpose was to form a league of fascism against the free world."

Thanks to the Japanese militarists, thanks to Hitler and his poor boastful Mussolini, only one question matters now: *the defeat of Fascism.* We must win to give the people of a free world a decent way of living based on liberty, justice and international law, inscribed in a covenant of nations.

When discussing with his cabinet the Chinese declaration of war against Hitler and Mussolini, Chiang Kai-Shek said: "It may not be in our direct interest to declare war on the totalitarian war-lords. However, I am certain of one thing—our duty to leap immediately to the side of the United States of America and of Great Britain and of all their Allies, the fighters against Fascism." We are proud, we who fight "the league of Fascism," to act with these great defenders of democracy.

War is total. The fight for democracy, for a free world must be total.

★ ★ ★

A LONG step toward victory was taken with the admission that a Supreme War Council is necessary to direct strategy and coordinate Allied resources in the military, naval, and economic spheres.

On the day its establishment is made public, every man and woman—all of us whose future depends on fascism's being swept from the earth—will see at a glance how superior is the strength of the Allies. But figures alone cannot give a true picture of the advantage obtained by unified collaboration for prosecuting the war. Its nature surpasses the cold reasoning of experts. To begin with, any Nazi stratagem to sow discord among the Allies will be eliminated at one stroke. Had an Inter-Allied Supreme War Council already existed, the question of whether Russia does well to concentrate all her energy on inflicting a greater defeat on the German army, or whether she should immediately attack Japan would not have been left to the sweet will or irresponsible pleasure of commentators and columnists. It would have been discussed and settled by the Supreme War



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Council, and none could have interpreted or resented the decision as having been taken from too narrow a national point of view.

In addition, a certain hesitation that has hampered Allied military iniative when decisions had to be taken by one nation alone will be more easily eliminated around a council table. If Great Britain, for example, finds it hard to start a military drive of her own to forestall Hitler's occupation of the Azores or the Canaries the difficulty would tend to disappear with the existence of a Supreme War Council. Such a body, seating representatives of the United States, Russia, and China as well as British representatives, would have no reason to show exaggerated consideration for susceptibilities in dealing with Salazar or Franco.

We could multiply examples of the greater facility and aggressiveness of action that such a body would assure the Allies. Its work would go a long way towards solving the crucial problem of this war, and efficient strategy would be its special field. From the purely military and economic aspect of the war, the Washington conversations signify a tremendous advance toward the ultimate total use of Allied military strength, and the inspired arrival of Prime Minister Churchill, shortly before Christmas, while Eden was in Moscow conferring with Stalin, increases confidence in world-wide understanding.

However, there remains much to be accomplished in full utilization of the democratic forces as represented by public opinion. Political warfare as yet does not appear on the agenda for victory. It is disquieting that it has taken so long for certain highly placed personages to realize that a war like this one must be fought with propaganda, revolt, and sabotage in enemy territory as much as by military action decided on by the general staffs.

★ ★ ★

GREAT opportunities are missed daily. On the evening that it was announced Hitler had decided to take over supreme command of the army in place of Field Marshal Brauchitsch, dozens of broadcast voices from England and the United States should have been heard in Germany exploiting the confusion that the news must have caused among the German people.

Each new wave of terror in France following the killing of Nazi officials is an opportunity to make the very stones rise in revolt. Allied radio propaganda should profit by the tension created by every fresh announcement of mass executions to intensify hatred of the army of occupation and encourage the civil population in its intrepid resistance. An incident like



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that at St. Pierre and Miquelon should be examined from the angle of repercussions in all of Europe.

Guerrilla warfare in Yugoslavia shows how a nation in permanent revolt against the invader can break the morale of an army accustomed to winning battles. China's heroic resistance for five years has depended on guerrilla warfare. There would be nothing fantastic in sending to China anti-fascist European refugees whose fighting spirit is known, to learn from Chinese experience in order to teach guerrilla tactics in their respective countries.

A pathetic case of failure of political warfare against the Axis is to be found in the attitude which confuses fascism with the Italian people. In 1939, in the very first days of the war, only the appeasing spirit and the Nazi war of nerves prevented an Allied barrage against fascist aims in the Near East and in the Mediterranean. The French and the British could have brought liberty to the Italian people then, creating a basis for victory, but few saw the need. Mussolini and fascism were helped along up to December, 1941, when his most absurd act was committed—declaration of war on the United States.

Fascism and its dictators always prefer the interests of their regimes to those of their subjugated people. They are fighting a political war and only a courageous political war by the allies can really crush them. This is particularly true for Mussolini, against whom our hardest blow would be the creation of a Free Italian Government. He could lose a whole Empire and care less than if he lost his government over the Italian people through a Free Italian Government in the United States. Woodrow Wilson contributed enormously to the national independence of Poland and Czechoslovakia by recognizing their National Governments in 1917.

★ ★ ★

WITHOUT exception every nation controlled or occupied by Hitler is a possible target for intelligent Allied political warfare, for even where Nazis are not actually fighting the population, they have gained their hatred by systematic robbery and exploitation. Every hungry Spaniard knows that the rice and olive oil he lacks have been taken by the Germans. All reports coming from occupied territory confirm that Nazi corruption has reached unimaginable proportions. Its existence is publicly known and there are virtually standardized prices for which Nazi officials will close their eyes while pretending to exercise their functions. The rapacity of Hitler's hordes seems unlimited. Homes are robbed of works of art and priceless books, their owners being obliged to sell them at prices



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fixed by Nazis. For political warfare, such demoralization could be turned to profit in many ways.

But political war calls for more than merely using the enemy's weakness as a weapon. It means tackling courageously the question of what sort of world the democracies fight for. The Frenchman, Dutchman, Belgian, Greek, Norwegian or Yugoslav who risks his life daily to defeat the monstrous Nazi considers he has a right to know what the fighting democracies will have to offer him on the day he is liberated. These men are not alone in their demands. Every expression of British public opinion shows the same longing for an energetic democratic program. In the United States, at question time during lectures on the war, what excites an audience's interest is the outlook for a really democratic world. It is the same in Latin America. The character of the present struggle can not be shown in a clearer form than in this universal demand for an authentic democratic order to be established when peace comes.

Taken in its entirety, the Atlantic Charter furnishes an excellent start for presenting the democratic war and peace aims. But the peoples of the world who struggle against Nazi tyranny need to have their faith strengthened by constant encouragement and enlightenment.

In the political war the Axis retains the initiative. Indeed as yet it is scarcely possible to talk of a political war conducted on the democratic side. It is still inadequately organized and the propaganda machine is capable only of skirmishes.

The hour is ripe for unification of political war and the establishment of an inter-Allied command in this field to supplement the supreme war council now being formed. Even with the best will, we cannot organize ourselves unless we know precisely what authority such a political command would wield and how it would function. It we agree that the kind of war now raging calls for unique methods, there is an equal necessity for united procedure to precede political warfare.

Without it, the military struggle to end Fascist tyranny may consume much of the time which should be devoted to building a better world.

The great step toward victory achieved at Washington in the military, naval, and economic field would be completed by opening the road to a political war, shortening the period of losses and suffering and establishing firm foundations for future democratic conquests.

The total war calls for a total political effort. Only simultaneous effort in both spheres will bring about a free world.



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# FOOD
## *for*
# *BRITAIN*
*by*
*Paul H. Appleby*

THE transition from a defense program to the actualities of immediate and far-flung war makes more difficult any prediction about any particular aspect of our activities. In the field of food, what it will be possible to ship to Britain, to Russia or to China is more uncertain than it appeared to be a few weeks ago. But the facts concerning need and supply are not so materially altered as yet. If it is possible to ship the food, Britain will need and will wish to include in her shipments about the quantity of food that previously had been scheduled in the lend-lease program. Schedules of any size had not been worked out with respect to the Orient, where shipping promises to be especially difficult for some months ahead. The unutilized productive resource of American farms has been sufficient so that in total the speeding up of production in other fields does not seem likely to affect importantly during the coming season the total food production situation here in the United States. Specific difficulties with respect to particular commodities and particular areas will be enlarged. But until the changes both internal and external have had a chance more fully to develop and to be appraised, plans for the handling of food will have to proceed in general along lines already laid down. It will be helpful, therefore, to review the elements in the situation as it has existed.

We do not need even the present totals of production of cotton, wheat and tobacco. Our need has been and still is to increase production of the highly concentrated protein foods—milk, cheese, pork and eggs. There is and has been a need also to increase production of a good many other items that in bulk are relatively minor but which together are important in our diet and the diet of our allies. Each one of these commodities is a problem unto itself, but looking at our whole domestic production situation and eliminating cotton, wheat and tobacco, the need is to increase production of almost everything else by something like 12% above our 1940 figures. The year 1940 brought us to an all-time high in total production. The year 1941 has passed the 1940 mark. Next year must see a further increase, the largest increase ever made in any one year, to bring us to about 12% above 1940.

Several months ago this situation was studied as a whole and in its various parts, and goals were set up for each commodity. Goals then were established for each of these commodities in each of the States, in each of the counties, and for each of millions of farms. In some respects those goals represented a maximum of what is possible. New dairy cows can not be brought into production in a single season. Additional fruit trees can not be brought into bearing in a single season. The goals as a whole are sufficient to give to the American people more food per capita than they have ever had before, and to have available the amounts previously scheduled for lend-lease shipments. In certain respects, these goals will undergo some



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alteration before the planting season, just to be doubly certain that the output will be sufficient. But millions of farmers already have been fully acquainted with the needs and the goals, and their plans have been made in the light of these goals. The goals will not by any means obviate the job of managing our food situation, but they do insure against any serious lack of food.

Everyone will recognize more clearly than before the importance of keeping the British people well fed, too. It is more than ever worth while for American people to understand the elements of the general food situation as it applies to us and to the British.

Almost every adult citizen remembers meatless days, wheatless days, many food deprivations, many strange food concoctions during the days of the first World War.

Yet with all the inconvenience, all the deficiencies in specific foods, the people of the United States as a whole produced and ate more food during that war period than they had in the years immediately before the war.

The millions in the armed forces ate more. The millions engaged in heavier work in war industries and on the farms ate more—needed more than they had needed before. The civilian population in general had in total about as much food as before the war. Allowing for population increase, the people of the nation as a whole had 3.7% less per capita than before the war. The important lacks were in specific foods.

In Great Britain during the first two years of war there have been similar lacks of specific foods, similar but much greater proportional need for increased food to meet increased demands on the efforts of the people. But besides these needs, the British people have suffered a greater deprivation. In total food, they have had much less than they had in the years before the war. At the worst point, last winter, the British people had about 27% less food than they had had before the war!

If we think back to our own food problem of the last war and remember how huge a problem it seemed, we can begin to realize something of the really devastating character of the recent and present food problem of Britain.

In the face of a greatly increased need, in the face of a great preoccupation with a total national effort for national survival to have to go on one-fourth less food—that was the necessity last winter. And while great improvement has been achieved since last winter, particularly with steady arrival of lease-lend food, the British people still are engaged in a supreme effort with much less food to eat than they had in ordinary times.

Just about one-half of the deficiency in total food supply that existed last winter has been filled. With the great shipments that are being made from Aemrica going steadily on through the months ahead, half of last winter's deficiency will be filled.

The British people were not complaining last winter. They are enormously relieved now, and contemplate going ahead satisfactorily on the present larger food supply. But if we were to double the lease-lend food shipments—and there is no such plan, and for months ahead there would be no such possibility—the British still would be eating a little less than they ate before the war, eating considerably less than their present effort really demands.

With lease-lend foods included, the British still are eating 13% less than they ate before the war.

In one respect, the situation is better than these figures indicate. The lease-lend foods as a whole are the more highly concentrated, more valuable foods. In food value the deficiency has been made up more than it has been in tonnage. But if we convert our figures into money values, which are not a precise index of dietary values, of course, and which are subject to difficulties of correction for exchange and price level relationships, the British still are seen clearly to have, with lease-lend foods, less than they had pre-war, and definitely less than they need for this wholly unprecedented war effort.

American food is vital to Britain. American food for Britain is vital to



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the success of the effort to overthrow Hitler, to establish a world in which we as a people have a chance to work out the kind of destiny to which we aspire.

Mr. R. M. Evans, Administrator of the Agricultural Adjustment Administration, and I left for England on a bomber on August 14. We returned home early in October. Most of the time between those dates we spent in the United Kingdom studying the food situation. We visited with various ministers, with numerous officials in the ministries, with citizens of all income levels. We saw cargoes on ships, in harbors; we saw food being unloaded, stored and distributed; we inspected food warehouses, reserve storage stocks, wholesale stocks, retail stocks, chain store headquarters. We visited the government-operated kitchens and restaurants. We visited in homes. We tramped over dozens of farms. We ate in about forty places —and were hungry most of the time. (Mr. Evans lost 10 pounds in weight; I lost 8 pounds.)

It is what we learned on that trip, what we know about the British food situation, that I wish to report. Figures not heretofore given out now may be made public.

The fact of war must be felt to underlie everything that is said. We are reporting on a nation engaged in the most desperate, the most intricate, the most highly organized and exacting effort a nation ever has been called upon to make. It is a nation that has war in its front yard, in its back yard, on its roof, confronting every man, woman and child, not merely the young men in battle lines far away. It is a nation totally blacked out at night, it is a nation that can not forget the war for a moment. It is a nation where the women are drafted as well as the men. It is a nation a little bit hungry all the time. The workmen's lunches don't look like nearly enough to support the effort the workers make. At the home of a very wealthy, widely known family I left a bit of pudding on my plate; it was a rare morsel, but I was busy talking and forgot it. My hostess signaled to the waiter who was removing my plate; when he drew near she reached over, took and ate that bit of pudding. She didn't do it as an object lesson; she was a bit embarrassed when she saw that the act was observed. I think she was hungry.

But no one will admit being hungry. On a train an English professional man said something implying that he didn't get enough to eat. Two women and four men standing about immediately asserted that they weren't hungry; they had plenty, and they felt he had plenty, too. The professional men immediately began to protest: He hadn't said that he didn't get enough to eat; what he meant was that he didn't get enough of one or two things!

The outstanding impression of our visit—and it relates to the need for food —is of a people wholly unified, wholly devoted to a total war effort.

All employables—including women—are employed. Everyone works long hours to get more done with fewer people in every field of activity. Men in the industries regularly work seventy-three hours. Because of bomb damage already done, and in order to minimize the possibility of bomb damage, workers have been established in a less congested way, plants have been decentralized. This means a greater expenditure of time in getting to and from work. In addition, millions do home-guard and fire-watching duty. This means that in addition to the seventy-three hours of plant work, and a good many hours in traveling to and from work, there is an expenditure of from fifteen to twenty-three hours a week in home-guard and fire-watch duty.

These extra activities are carried on by practically everyone. At dinner in the home of the Minister of Agriculture, Mr. Hudson, I overheard an illustrative interchange. Mrs. Hudson leaned toward her husband and whispered, "Are you fire-watching tonight?" He whispered back, "Tomorrow night."

A note left on my desk in the Embassy one day read:

"Lord Astor's secretary 'phoned to say that Lord Astor is expecting Mr. Appleby and Mr. Evans on Monday. He is fairly sure they will be able to get



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an official car to take them on to Bristol. Sorry he cannot do so himself as he does not have the petrol."

We heard no one complain. No one seemed interested in academic speculation about how long the war might last; no one seemed interested in talking about its cost. A wealthy banker dismissed all that by saying quietly:

"Whenever I think of my personal concerns I think of those boys in the bombers, taking off practically alone, in the dark, to meet all the dangers over Europe; they have due them everything I can give to support them." Everyone is interested simply in doing the best possible job.

Our next most outstanding impression is of the vitality of democratic essentials of public discussion, agitation, concern for people, collective bargaining.

The British government has all the war-time powers of a dictatorship. But those powers are exercised in a way that contrasts sharply with Germany. The newspapers are reduced to a small fraction of their former size, but they are full of editorials, articles and letters arguing about how to do a better job, criticizing the government. There is no complaint but much argument and agitation. And the government is responsive. Here are a few examples:

An order regulating disposal of eggs created such criticism that the order was quickly modified, even though the criticisms were ill founded and came from a small minority. When the order is promulgated again, as it will be, it will be accepted.

Again, the county agricultural committees have arbitrary powers, including power to take over farms and operate them. The committees have taken over scores of farms, but their actions are so deliberate, so considerate and so warranted that there is strong popular support for them.

The handling of industrial canteens affords another example. The government issued an order requiring the management of each essential industry employing two hundred and fifty or more to provide a canteen supplying workers with food in excess of rations. Having fixed responsibility with the management, the government leaves it to the workers to get, through collective bargaining, the best canteen service they can get. It is thus impossible to describe the canteens in universal terms; they vary from plant to plant. The government, and the people, feel that it is worth a certain lack of uniformity to leave detailed development to worker-management negotiation.

Most vivid of all examples of the maintenance of democratic processes is in the field of labor relations. The records show—although a visitor would not realize it—that there are many strikes in the United Kingdom. The papers make no particular point of it. It isn't discussed as an alarming thing. It is taken wholly for granted. The practically universal feeling is that industry has a higher productive efficiency, the workers feel more responsible, because the well-established process of collective bargaining goes on. It is a part of the feeling that the British government actually has a more persistent and certain vitality because it cherishes democratic processes of agitation and popular participation, than has Hitler's government.

* * *

BEFORE the war, the British produced at home just thirty-seven per cent of their food—11,352,000 long tons out of 30,738,000. This third year of the war the British are consuming at the rate of 26,796,000 long tons, and are producing at home 13,034,000 —slightly less than half of the reduced total.

Land in the United Kingdom is high in value and high in productivity. It is producing about as much per acre as any similar area in the world. But its total area is about one and one-half times that of the State of Iowa, and its population is eighteen times the population of Iowa. Britain *must* import at least half of her food.

Consumption of food in Britain now, as I have indicated, is at the rate of 26,796,000 long tons a year—13% below pre-war. This includes lease-lend food at the rate it is now arriving—2,250,000 long tons a year, about 200,000 long



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tons a month. This lease-lend food amounts, in tonage, to 8% of British pre-war consumption, 8.4% of present consumption. In money value it probably represents from 17% to 20% or more of British food consumption.

Shipments in August had just begun to reach the level that will be maintained through the months ahead. Figures for September, consequently, are fairly typical of the program. Total shipments of food in that month were 202,375.17 long tons; shipments of tobacco and cotton were, in addition, 9,415 and 37,595 long tons respectively. Commodities included in the September shipments were: evaporated milk, skim milk powder, cheese, canned fish, canned pork, dried eggs, canned tomatoes, soya beans, soya flour, starch, lard, dried beans, casings, glucose, pectin, prunes, raisins, other dried fruits, fruit pulp, canned fruit, concentrated citrus juice, pork and beans, maize, canned potatoes, army biscuits, sorbose, cured pork, shell eggs, frozen eggs, dried albumen. Amounts of these items ranged from 1.17 long tons to 20,706 long tons.

Behind those shipments is a story of production, of course. The commodities most needed by Britain are not commodities heretofore produced in great surplus here. Many of them are items we have not customarily exported at all. Many are items produced rather too generously for our normal home markets but not in an amount to fill British needs. Some are items that can be increased greatly only over a period of months or years.

Beans were a simple problem. We knew last spring what the need was; we organized an increase in production of that amount; the increase was harvested.

Dairy products and pork were much more difficult. Additional dairy cows can not be had on demand. It takes less time, but still a good many months, to have additional pigs ready for market. But by making extra feeding profitable we turned a prospective drop of 10% in pork supply into an actual 20% increase, and a speeding up of dairy production also has taken place. In another year supplies will be generally better, but a continuing effort of great proportions will be necessary.

The people of this country are naturally much interested in the way in which this food is distributed in Great Britain. To inquire into that was a major purpose of our trip.

Title to the food is taken here by the British government. It is imported over there by the usual importers, who in this case act simply as agents of the government. It goes into warehouses ordinarily used for such purposes and, more quickly now because of war risks, into wholesalers' warehouses and into improvised warehouses of various kinds and widely scattered. The government sells the food, other than meat, to wholesalers, who sell it in the same way they sell other foods to retailers. "In the same way" means that they sell at fixed prices in fixed amounts. Retailers in turn sell at fixed prices and, in the case of rationed foods, in fixed amounts to particular customers who have registered at their particular stores.

Some foods—bread, potatoes, and a number of green vegetables—exist in sufficient amount so that quantities are not limited; everyone can have as much of these as he wants. Some foods—fish, chicken, game, fancy fruits, etc.—exist in such limited quantities that they can not be divided among the whole people, and they are available as extras for those who have the means to buy and are able to locate them. Other basic foods—pork, beef, milk, eggs, sugar, fats—are apportioned under very precise controls.

Everyone gets a basic allowance of these rationed foods. Coal miners and agricultural workers — and recently others engaged in heavy work — are allowed more than other citizens.

Title to meats passes from the government to the retailers, wholesalers acting simply as agents. Otherwise, meats are handled like other foods.

Milk priority goes to babies, small children, prospective and nursing mothers, and invalids.

British restaurants, publicly operated and located in districts of workers, provide extra food—substantial meals, with meat stews as the main feature—for a



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shilling or less, about twenty cents. Canteens in industrial plants similarly supply additional food to workers.

Hotels and privately operated restaurants get rationed food on a basis of the number of meals served. For the most part they are an outlet for the scarcer, unrationed foods. The menus are restricted, the charges high. The wealthy supplement their rations here, as the workers do in the government restaurants and industrial canteens. Here, too, come the middle class for celebrations when soldiers, husbands or sons are on leave. Statistically these places are unimportant, but they are a subject of some criticism and are under tighter restrictions than they were a few months ago. During our visit we saw no steaks, no roasts in any hotel, restaurant or residence. We saw three eggs, and ate one apiece. Visiting on several dairy farms, we saw there no milk, no cream, no butter; the dairy output is taken over by the government, and the farmers we saw certainly were abiding by the rules. On one large dairy farm the host exhibited a piece of cheese about three or four inches square, and said it was more cheese than he had seen before during the war. It was lease-lend cheese.

This rather sketchy picture suggests several questions, questions we had heard before going to England.

One of these questions has to do with the sale of lease-lend food. Our conclusion was that this was thoroughly sensible. All other food is sold, and it is hard to see any efficiency in setting up a special organization to distribute our foods separately. It arrives at various ports; to distribute it separately and equitably all over Britain would make a lot of unnecessary and costly transportation and handling. It is sold at prices in line with or below other prices, and at prices in line with income. Considering the fact that Britain is spending over 60% of its national income for its fight for life, it matters little whether the government sells this food or gives it away and collects the money in taxes. The taxes now would of necessity have an incidence almost exactly the same. We are supplying this food both for its importance as food and for its importance as financial aid. The people of Britain —practically all people—are left only the very essentials. And actually the government *does* give away food at a cost to it roughly equal to the value of lease-lend food. It does this by subsidizing *all* food, selling it below cost, by subsidizing production of food, and by various forms of free relief distribution. Whether the government gives away precisely the food we send seems an academic and not very relevant question. The British government's total responsibility is to manage the whole food situation in such a way as to make for maximum efficiency of its whole national effort. We believe it is doing a good, and a steadily better, job. Lease-lend materials are helping importantly. That is what the lease-lend act contemplated.

Another question has to do with profiteering. Our observation is that there is as little profiteering as one can conceive of. An excess profits tax of 100% discourages most tendencies to try to make money out of the war. Violations of regulations can not be usual in large organizations, because too many persons would have to be in the conspiracy; someone would tell, and the penalty would be devastating. Some very small shopkeepers attempt to make special profits which they think they can conceal. But there are many stories in the papers of very harsh punishments for such offenses.

Another question has to do with the unrationed foods. Undoubtedly there would be more equity if these foods could be as tightly controlled as those on ration. The problem is exceedingly difficult, but we were told of a plan that had been devised, and announced since our return, which promises to go far toward the ideal of completely equitable distribution.

The effort and the public attitude certainly are strongly in the direction of complete equity. And on the whole it is plain that the whole food supply is being much more fairly divided than before the war, and altogether as fairly divided as the Food Ministry or we as visitors could see how to do it. *Relative to the*



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*present consumable national income,* the poor and the workers are faring better than ever before. No one actually is faring as well as he did before the war, but relatively the shift has been markedly in the direction of equity.

Bombs don't discriminate between individuals in Britain. There is a common danger and there is a common responsibility. Everybody is essential and important, and differences in importance seem to everybody to be less. A nation fighting desperately, millions reinforced with other millions, is concerned about each citizen, prizes each citizen's effort, is protective of each citizen's ability to make that effort.

On a train we sat with a family—husband and wife, their daughter and her baby. The daughter's husband is in the army, and she is filling his peace-time job. "We have to do things like that," she said; "we only have forty-five million people to put against Hitler's eighty million."

In that realization every citizen is extending himself, every citizen is concerned about fair dealing. One feels that it is this realization, and not mere propaganda, that is expressed in two twin posters, identical except that in one the figure is a man, in the other a woman. They stand with arms extended, grasping a hand on each side. Below is a chain, link after link reaching unbroken across the sheet, and below is a single line of type:

"It all depends on you!"

It is to keep strong the links in that human chain of devoted self-sacrificing comrades in a common cause—now more clearly our common cause, that Americans are producing and sending food to Britain. That food is essential. Shipments of magnitude are required, and surely will be continued.

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# LETTER TO THE EDITORS

New York,
December 18, 1941.

**Gentlemen:**

YOU ask my opinion about "the establishment of an interim Free Italy government temporarily located in Libya"—a suggestion formulated by my friend Frederick C. McKee in a letter which appeared in the December issue of FREE WORLD.

Both Mr. McKee and myself consider the victory of the United States, Britain and Russia the supreme necessity for the freedom of the world, my Italy included, and therefore we are for anything that may help this victory. Confining discussion to the Italian problem, Mr. McKee looks at it from outside, as is quite natural. I look at it from inside. I respect "exiles"—but I am not one; with all my soul I have always lived in Italy so I dare to speak not only for Italian ideals and interests but also for Italian feelings.

Mr. McKee considers the creation of a provisional Italian government located in Libya an instrument to be approved by the Italian nation even if it comes from outside. Being an Italian I know that this is not enough, although it is true that the immense majority of my compatriots loathe not only Fascism but the abject fringe of "intelligent Fascists" who served the gang in power until it looked strong (I mean the Grandis, Volpis, *et similia*). It is because the internal psychological problems of Italy are so complex that I have resisted so long the appeal of Italians living in Italy and abroad (Liberals, Christian-democrats, Socialists) who, in their despair at seeing our country going to ruin thought that if we repeated the historical gesture of Masaryk in America during the first World War it might mean salvation for Italy. Certainly the creation of a National Italian Committee or Council is becoming a moral necessity for Italy and for ten million Italians abroad, just as it will constitute a precious help to the United States.

But the creation of some provisional Italian government needs a wider preparation. Since



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my love of Italy is mixed with pride rather than with vanity, I understand quite well, alas,—after years of Fascist shame—a certain reprehension of Italy.

But the truth is that if some day a provisional government is to be created somewhere, the only way to do it with dignity and a common advantage will be to make it possible for the new organization to offer to the Italians much more than bread. It will be necessary for the democracies to make all Italians feel that the human generosity which made Mazzini and Cavour immortal will enlighten the spirit of the peace-makers of tomorrow. In a broadcast to Italy on Columbus Day I asked fifty-five million Italians to imitate the Genoese navigator and to rediscover America, where Roosevelt concentrates on a permanent peace among the nations, all enjoying equal opportunities. The broadcast made such an impression, with its message of hope, that all the newspapers in Italy which referred to it, even though to insult me, were immediately seized if foreign, and suppressed if Italian. The most generous schemes of international solidarity and of organizations limiting the anarchical independence of the national States will find in Italy warm support. Italian statesmen who always despised Fascism as anti-Italian and the Italian masses will agree with joy to a limitation of Italian sovereignty in any field, for example, minorities and colonies, strategic points and use of great ports for non-Italian hinterlands . . . on one condition, however, and only one: that all the other Powers, great and small, will accept analogous conditions for themselves.

Are America and Britain and Russia ready to realize, in the interest of the world, not of Italy, that when peace comes we will be confronted not by Italian problems but by Italian aspects of European and even inter-continental problems? On the day this is understood and believed in Italy, the "provisional" government will become at once the government of forty-five million Italians.

SFORZA

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## An Editorial Note

THE situation in Italy and outside Italy is at present much as FREE WORLD revealed it in the striking documents calling for immediate and united action of the Italian people against fascism, for the Allies and for the oppressed or invaded nations. For Italy, political war means a clear distinction between the country and an unworthy government.

The creation of a Free Italian Republic has both military and political advantages. In the military sense, we have only to consider the existence in the Americas of nearly six million Italians who still are Italian citizens. In Africa and in India, there are now more than 250,000 Italian prisoners of whom one-third are colored soldiers. A well-organized system of volunteers would give considerable support in man-power to the Allies and to the indispensable police action against the fifth-column. Politically, the fight in the Mediterranean must be supplemented by negotiations between the governments of all the future Free Republics of the Mediterranean. A far-sighted political war must be planned in terms of reconstruction. Think of the value of having at the peace conference table a Free Italian Government born in the United States and not a narrow-minded nationalistic government like the one that confronted Woodrow Wilson in 1919. Let us hope that the country of Lincoln and Jefferson may say one day with pride: "Here was born the Free Italian Republic, our partner within Free Federated Europe." The people in Italy, and the many millions of Italians abroad want liberty and justice. Did not Woodrow Wilson once write: *"Freedom exists only where the people take care of the government"?* Leaders like Carlo Sforza belong to the people of Italy.



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# The Grand Strategy

By RAYMOND GRAM SWING

*TWO phrases about the war are already in use which are going to be heard with increasing frequency. They are "unified command" and "grand strategy". It will not be hard to convert ordinary people to the need of both. A football team of eleven quarterbacks would not win many games, not even if they all were stars. If this is true of team play in a sport it is still more true of the measureless conflict of nations fighting the world's greatest war. Decisions must be made that rise out of local situations, but no decision can be made without affecting the war as a whole. Somebody must be charged with thinking of the war as a whole, and of the common problem of all the forces fighting the Axis. It will do no good to win a brilliant victory at the cost of standing a still greater defeat. And it may be wise to accept defeat here and there in the prospect of winning a telling victory.*

*JUST as an example, it has been mentioned that a choice may have to be made as to which to save, Singapore or the Philippines. It may be too difficult to hold them both, and if one of them is sacrificed the other may be held. Which is more important? Important, that is, to the defeat of the Axis. And who is to make such a decision? I am not certifying that such a decision is on the agenda. I use it as a purely hypothetical case. Since this is a common war each belligerent nation shares a common responsibility. But that also means that each nation must be prepared to subordinate its own immediate interests to the common purpose. That presupposes an intelligence by the people and each nation. They will have to be educated about the problems of a war of this magnitude. They must be told enough about grand strategy to have faith in the ultimate value of unpleasant decisions. They can be expected to follow their leaders. But they have to be able to follow them with their intelligence rather than their blind faith. Blind faith is what Hitler asks, and gets. Mr. Churchill and Mr. Roosevelt have not asked it and would hardly get it if they did. Everybody is going to be his own grand strategist, for everybody is going to feel that this is his war.*



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*BEFORE there can be any grand strategy it must be remembered that the Allies are behind in their timetable. The Axis is still the stronger team. Nineteen forty-one was a year of catching up by the Allies. Nineteen forty-two will be the year of drawing even. Not till nineteen forty-three will there be a surplus of Allied power to conjure with. So the problem for the present is how to make the best use of a deficiency. That must be the chief objective of any grand strategy by the Allies for many months to come. If between them the United States and Great Britain had a great many fighter planes and a great many ships, there would be no headache over the defense of Singapore. The ships would take the planes around the Cape of Good Hope, through the Indian Ocean and paralyze the Japanese airforce on the Malay Peninsula. If there were this surplus of planes and shipping, the defense of the Philippines would cause no anxiety. And if there were fighter planes enough, the Philippine air bases would be protected, and bombers could begin the relentless raiding of Japanese industrial centers.*

*THE most important factors in administering a deficiency, as the Allies must be doing, is to hold their key bases. They will have power enough in another year and a half. But if they do not hold the bases from which to launch that power, they have to lose the time and energy to capture the bases. So bases now held must continue to be held. And the most important base in the world, for the Allied cause, is the British Isles themselves. It will not do to strip the British Isles of their maximum of safety to defend Singapore or the Philippines or Suez. Next in importance are Singapore and Suez. If the Japanese take Singapore they not only can take whatever they want in the Southwest Pacific, they have unlocked the door to the Indian Ocean. And if they dominate that Ocean they can subjugate both India and China. India itself lacks the air and naval power to hold off the Japanese attack. And if Burma goes, the Japanese have cut the Burma Road, and severed the life line to China. Ten million soldiers are waiting in China for the arms to bear in this war against any member of the Axis. But China is without the arms to throw out the Japanese. Singapore is vital in an almost incalculable way.*

*SUEZ is only less so. It is the doorway to the other side of the Indian Ocean. If Hitler gets Suez he can undertake to supply Japan, and the hope of Japan's bleeding itself white economically will be deferred. West Africa is a base of tremendous potential power, for it not only dominates part of Africa, and the South Atlantic shipping lanes, but it lies opposite South America.*



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*THEN there are the major military campaigns, all of which need to be coordinated. Which one deserves the lion's share of available military supplies, Libya or Russia? How are the supplies to be delivered? The Soviet Union just now faces a problem in grand strategy. Shall it enter the war against Japan or shall it concentrate on fighting Hitler's armies? If it fights Japan, it will have two fronts to supply with an industrial production that is reduced probably more than sixty percent. Britain and the United States have promised supplies, but are having difficulty in obtaining shipping, not to mention that there aren't supplies enough to go around for all the fronts. If the Soviet Union decides not to risk war with Japan, will it be serving the grand strategy of the common cause as well as it is able? Obviously it would be more satisfying if there were a supreme war council which could share the responsibility of such a choice.*

*BRITAIN and the Soviet Union already have scheduled talks which will be about grand strategy. Similar talks between Britain and the United States are to be held in Washington in the near future. "All the necessary steps have been taken or are being taken to concert the military plans of the major allied powers." So spoke Major Attlee, deputy British Prime Minister, in the House of Commons on December 16. Military and naval plans are to be discussed by the British, Australians and Chinese at Chungking, by the Americans, British and Dutch at Singapore. But it is easy to forecast delay and difficulty in solving these problems. There are many sovereignties at stake, and the world is still strangled by the concept of unlimited sovereignty. The basis is there for some kind of federation. It may take federation to evoke the utmost possible strength and the best possible timing against the Axis. A federation of this magnitude has never been needed before, but the democratic countries never faced a task of this magnitude before. And if it is not going to be federation of any kind it will have to be something which seems even more difficult—the efficient, flexible, self-sacrificing and voluntary collaboration of sovereign states. That was enough in World War Number One, but that was fought, in the main, in Europe. World War Number Two at this moment flames on three continents.*

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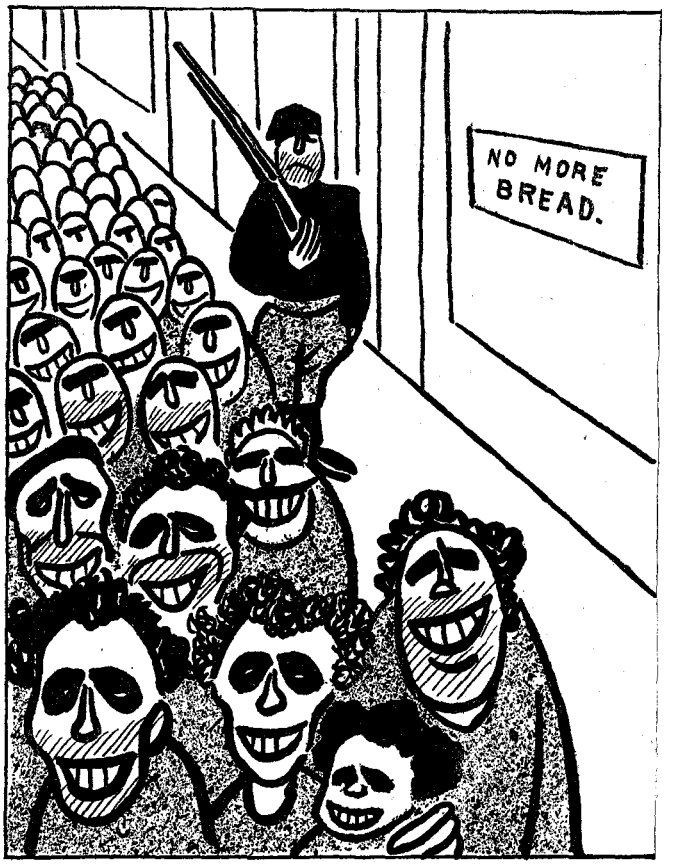
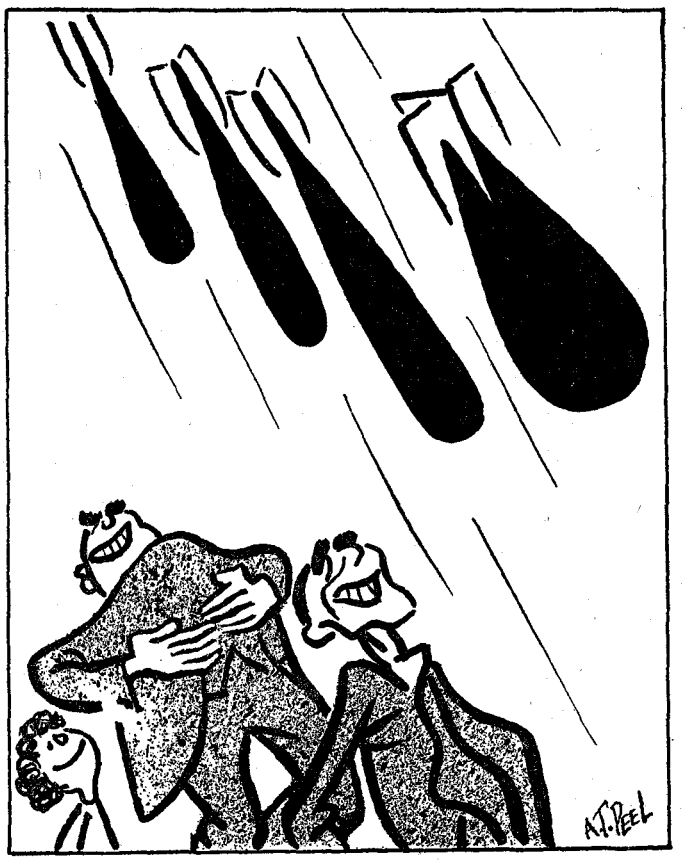
## "THE MUSSOLINI FLOP"

*"The total and final extirpation of the Hitler tyranny, of the Japanese frenzy and the Mussolini flop."—Winston Churchill at Ottawa*

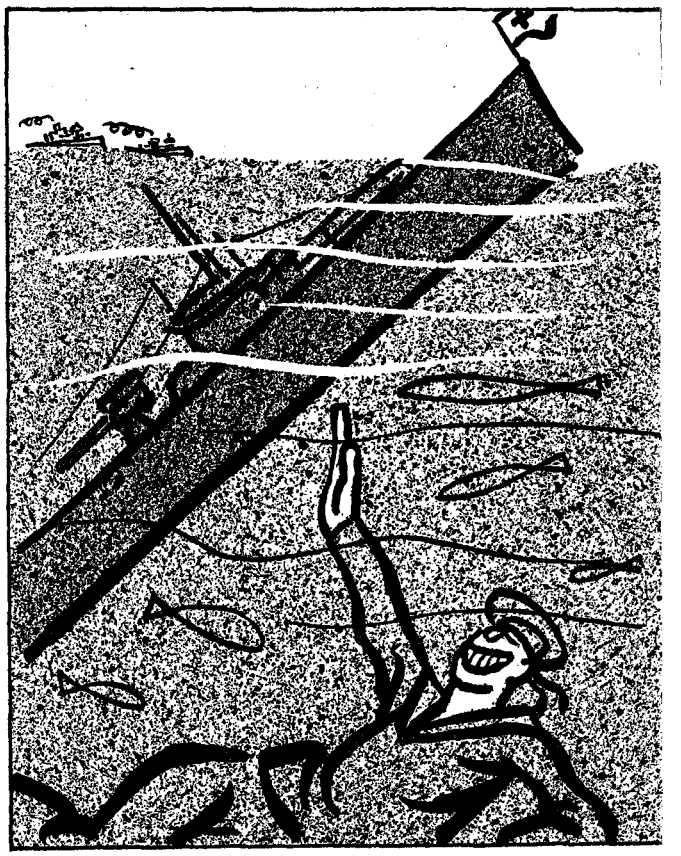
**Keep Smiling**




**Hunger**




**Certain Death**



**Mare Nostrum**

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# BASES

## *For Enduring Peace*

By G. A. BORGESE

I HAD a share a few years ago in an attempt at modifying the conventional view of history that our contemporaries held. They used to interpret everything on the basis of economic motives. We tried to modify this vision. The truth is now dawning on many minds that the war does not originate mainly in material needs or desires but that its deep motivation is in passions and emotions. Rather than a war for raw materials it is a war for raw ideals.

Everything that the Germans have said is not necessarily wrong. Their military and political theorists of generations ago upheld the thesis that war is another phase of the political trends pursued in periods of peace. War is the final and dramatic manifestation of a political development that had taken place in peace time. The converse also is true. Peace, the politics of peace, is the continuation and outcome of the struggle of war. If we fight and win in the spirit of an enduring peace—and only if we fight it in this spirit—there will be enduring peace.

Our task is to make every one conscious of the purpose. In the war of 1914-1918 people were conscious of the purpose, especially after 1917, after the intervention of America. The purpose and will were blurred and stultified by the Clemenceaus, the Lloyd Georges, the Sonninos, the Senator Lodges. There was wholesale betrayal, not indeed of Germany in particular, as is generally supposed, but of the democratic nations themselves, of the very core of the democratic spirit, of the very purpose of that war to end all wars and to make the world safe for democracy. The consequence was confusion, bad conscience, panic, surrender, conflagration. It is up to us, up to you, to make a repetition of this experience impossible during and after this war.

The confusion of yesterday must give place to clarity. We must know what world we want for us and our children to live in. We must know what dawn we await to follow this night.

Watchman, what of the night? What is the military and ideological situation at this moment? They are the twin aspects of one and the same thing. The intimate connections between thinking and military action are clearly visible in the history of these two years of war, in the trial and error which has made so many deluded minds fancy that the job could be done by the Poles alone, or by the Finns, or by the Greeks, or by the French, or even by the V's and the first bars of the Fifth Symphony, until the Russians came and the same minds still fancied that Russia without help could do the job. So now England and the English speaking nations are nearing a solitude as glorious, we may admit, as it is perilous—*enfin seuls*—unless something is done first to stabilize an Eastern defensive front, then to make it aggressive.

What has been the cause of such a stupendous waste of opportunities, of such a rambling, blind groping, if the main cause is not the inability to envision actions and ideas together? There can-



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not be any victory without a combined effort from a Western and an Eastern front. In the early stage of the war the possibility of creating an Eastern and South-Eastern front pivoted on Italy. It was neglected mainly because the conservative did not want to hurt seriously Italy which is a shrine untouchable for the reverent mind. Later a second possibility, an Eastern front, appeared in the Pacific, Indo-china and China. It was neglected because many, strategists and statesmen, do not yet realize that the earth is round and that there is a Western route to reach the East. It was neglected because we were not yet ready to consider evil as evil wherever and howsoever it appears, even if it appears in the supposedly secondary form of the oppression of China by the Japanese. A third possibility was opened, is still kept open, by the intervention of Russia. It has been too largely neglected, on the pretext that Russia is a hotbed of subversion; therefore she should not be helped according to many, or, at most, she should be helped with tongue in cheek. In the present situation nobody should longer indulge in the hope, as vicious as it is stupid, that Nazism and Bolshevism might please democracy by cutting each other's throats. As a matter of fact, it is Russia's throat that is being cut; the other throat still sings *Heil.*

The Russian line is sagging, through the vicissitudes of a heroic struggle. The American line is stiffening, after the torture of hesitation.

The ordeal of Russia and the decision of America are the two main elements in the present situation. They cannot be dissociated from each other. From their adjustment to each other along military and ideological lines will emerge the coming phase of the war and preparation for an enduring peace.

The behavior of the Western democratic world toward Communist Russia is the touchiest of all topics. Let us not be afraid. But let me approach the touchy topic at first through a personal reminiscence.

In the early years of my American life I was regularly confronted with the query: "Should you have to choose between Fascism (the word Fascism had not yet been superseded by Nazism) and Communism, which would you prefer? Fascism or Communism?" My answer was: "I am a healthful and sensible fish, still swimming in my natural element, liberal and democratic America. To choose whether it is better to be a slave under Fascism or a slave under Communism, whether it is better to be broiled or boiled, I will have time when I am wriggling in a basket in the pantry." Later, slightly irritated by the insistence of the questioners, I altered my answer. I said: "After all, if the worst comes to the worst, I would favor being boiled rather than broiled, since Communism, which includes a belief of some kind in the future of man, descends, a muddy and bloody water, from the fountainhead of democracy. So it still is, in a way, my native element, although pitched up in the bolshevist cauldron to a temperature which is uncomfortable for any sensible fish."

In a more serious vein I said that I am not much interested in the problem of choosing between evils. The so-called lesser evil is usually the worse. But let us suppose for a moment that such a choice could be made, and the result of the examination of the two evils should lead us to the conviction that the Communist system is more evil and barbarous than the Nazi system, but that on the other hand the Nazi system is more dangerous militarily, and therefore we have to gloss over the barbarity and wickedness of Russian Communism, and even use provisionally that barbarity and wickedness against Nazism, although Nazism, considered in itself, is less barbarous and wicked.

The implications of such an attitude would be disastrous. We cannot use with any safety a worse although supposedly weaker evil against a lesser, although supposedly stronger one, without implicitly endorsing the objections of those economic royalists and reactionary churchmen who say, "You are warming the snake in your bosom. If you help Russia to win, she will become stronger and more dangerous than Nazism while remaining worse than it. If of two evils



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one is the lesser, then let us rather have a compact or appeasement with the lesser one that is Nazism." As a matter of fact, it is feelings of this kind that Hitler and his secret ambassador, Rudolf Hess, banked on. The Nazis are not so much after the products of the Donets Basin or the Caucasus as they are after disruption and fear in the democratic mind. What they plan is drafting economic royalists against the will and purpose of democracy, and dazzling the conservative churches which might wonder whether God, whose whereabouts is always unaccountable, might not by some chance have taken domicile awhile in Nazidom. This is what a friend of ours appropriately calls "the Lease-Lending of God."

Nazism, and Fascism which is its father, are the utter denial of both the ends and the means of democracy. Russian Communism is the denial of the means of democracy while upholding some of its most relevant ends. Its purpose, the equality and dignity of man, was forgotten while it developed into an autocratic and bloody tyranny. There can be no dignity of man without freedom and freedom in Communist Russia is beyond the horizon. Hence its tragic contradiction. But it is not a mere chance that Russia now is fighting this war in company with England and the democratic nations . Russia indeed had withstood an enormous amount of totalitarian and Fascist infection. But it is no mere chance that she did not stand as much of that infection as Hitler wanted to inject into her, and did not become Fascist enough to take sides with Fascism to the end. At the present stage of the world-revolution Russian Communism, as it has evolved in 1941, is better than Fascism and Nazism. It is legitimately the ally of the democracies.

To think, as many do, that whoever fights with us against the evil of Nazism is acceptable and welcome as an ally, even if he is the devil incarnate, is as dangerous as it is intellectually and morally wrong. A political vision of this kind is, however unconsciously, Machiavellian. If we meant it, we would defeat the very purpose of democracy, making of this war a combination of powers rather than of ideas, and suggesting to the Chinese, to the Yugoslavs, to the underground conspirators in Germany, in Italy, in France, that the Western democracies are fighting not for the universal good but for their own good alone. Egotism and trickery would be our weapons. Such weapons, in democracy's hand, have no point or edge.

No evil must be chosen. Democracy, if it is alive, does not choose between evils. It offers itself as a good that must be chosen by the others, that will be chosen by those who, like the Russians, are making up for sins and errors in the heroism of their fight, by those who are fighting our war, as it must be chosen in the future by the converted Nazi and Fascist nations after their defeat. Democracy must grow so strong, so univocal, as to carry with it the maximum of energy for victory and persuasion.

How far have we carried this sweeping power that is implicit in the spirit of democracy? Acknowledgement of our failures is the road to progress. Let me quote from Herbert Agar: "We cannot describe the (totalitarian) revolution without admitting that it is the necessary result of our own failure to make our democracy democratic."

Let us see what democracy so far has done. Let us see by what failures it is inviting the insult and onslaught of the totalitarian world. Democracy has never denied its ends—equality, justice, freedom. But the achievement of these ends it has—too often, too culpably—postponed to an indefinite future, to a skyline or mirage. The means of democracy—its technique and ritual, on the other hand—have expanded, as a kind of make-believe compensation for the failure in the ends to the proportions of an all-engulfing superstition. Its climax, so far, has been reached in the polling method, a perilous deviation from the representative system which is basic for democracy, a lottery cross-sectioning the fickleness of a half-public mind and promoting it to a sovereignty at the same time demagogic and secret.

The inadequacies of contemporary democracy explain much of the present



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world-disorder. First things must be put first. The ends must not be engulfed by the means, or worse, by an unsound and misleading interpretation of them. These inadequacies give an explanation of the tepidity and slow awakening of the masses to the totalitarian danger. They explain so many military and ideological catastrophies in Europe, foremost among them the collapse of France. They provide an interpretation, melancholy rather than bitter, of isolationism in America. Hence, from these inadequacies and contradictions the loyalties of the extreme leftists for whom Stalin was always right, even when he was holding the bag for Hitler, and the loyalties of the rightists, economic royalists and reactionary churchmen, for whom Russia is always wrong, even when she fights our war. Hence the scepticism of the outcast, of the disinherited who cannot hear the word freedom without thinking that freedom is the heritage of the privileged classes, who cannot hear the ring of words such as justice and equality without sensing the tinkle of false coins. For what are we asking them to fight? Do we really think that the principle of national independence and national honor in itself has today the appeal it had fifty or a hundred years ago? Do we really think that they would fight for national religions when they are aware that between churches and tyrannies a compromise is possible? Democracy drafts them, selects them to fight for democracy. They will fight, and win. But a condition for victory is that the promises of democracy must not be unfulfilled any longer. It is true that the economic motives do not alone explain the conflagration. But we would be deceivers and self-deceivers, if from the erroneous pan-economic interpretation of history we jumped to a pan-emotional and all-spiritual interpretation of it, dumping into one comfortable alibi the economic factors of life and the duties of democracy.

Let me quote from Agar again. We can win "only at the price of carrying on two struggles at once: a struggle at home to show we mean democracy, and a struggle abroad to resist the murderers of freedom. If we do not make the first struggle, we shall not have heart for the second; and if we do not make the second, we shall not have time for the first."

This is a plea for planning, a plea for peace aims or war aims, which amounts to the same. If we do not have clear and consistent peace aims—as much clarity as necessary for "a declaration on world freedom"—we shall not have heart for fight and victory. Our enemy will prevail because his picture of a world to come makes sense even though it is horrible. There is a logic, however diabolical in it. Our picture of the world to come is generally magnificent and magnanimous, but it must be put into a shape of consistency and feasibility. It must rise to the full requirements of logic and practice. It must make sense.

The clamor for war aims, for peace aims, started quite early in the most enlightened sections of British opinion. The response from governmental circles was for a long time more than halting. It was negative. It was asserted over and over again that the war aim was to win the war. The slogan, put first things first, was interpreted by many to imply that a war like this could be won without the weapon of ideas.

Foreign Secretary Anthony Eden in May, 1941 was the first to draft a plan of peace aims. It was a five point plan, and not a very good one. The last of the five points—if we restrict ourselves to just one example—pledged "British support to the independence of Syria and a united Arab world." The connection of this point with a particularly delicate situation in one sector at that moment was too obvious not to cause some concern about the validity of the whole plan. But the first point of Secretary Eden's plan endorsed the Four Freedoms of President Roosevelt in his third inaugural.

There are many whose hearts and minds are devoted to the President of the United States. I am one of the many.

The spirit of democracy, however, that spirit of which Mr. Roosevelt is the standard bearer, implies the right and duty of collaboration—even of criticism



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within the limits of respect. The first of the four freedoms listed by our president is "freedom of speech and expression everywhere in the world." We ask, are there limits to such a freedom in so far as those are concerned who use freedom in order to kill freedom? If not, how can we be protected against Trojan horses and stabbers-in-the-back? If there are, where and what are those limits? They should not be drafted in such a way as to kill freedom under the pretext, or even under the sincere wish to protect it.

The second is "freedom of every person to worship God in his own way." It should not be forgotten, however, that Hitler, too, is on speaking terms with a thing which he calls by the name of God, to whom he addresses his devoutest thanks whenever he has strangled one more nation. So, freedom of worship has limits which must be described.

The third is freedom from want. It cannot be established without a serious, careful, profound economic reform. It must not be the evil of Communism. It must not be the turmoil and destruction of revolution. It cannot be the obdurate conservation of an unmodified capitalistic system. We have had great masters of economic reform in our midst; greatest of all, I suppose, Henry George. A synthesis must be worked out between the individualism or freedom of capitalistic society and the collectivism, or equality, of Socialism. West and East must meet—as if the military efforts of the Western democracies and of Russia converged toward one common front and way. At any rate some kind of economic planning is inevitable. The spirit of social justice can hardly be carried to a convincing expresssion by means of legislative steps and of protective measures which grapple with injustice to the poor and unemployed only circuitously and fragmentarily without striking its roots. The problem cannot be solved by alms and doles, or such demoralizing palliatives.

The fourth is freedom from fear. It clearly implies world organization, world authority, world unity in order that threat and violence may be nipped in the bud. On this point every thinking man in the democratic world agrees; but world unity, world organization requires a definite plan of enactment. The democratic world is waiting for it.

The Atlantic Conference ended on August 14, 1941. Its main importance lies in the fact that it took place. It was an epoch-making event.

As for the Eight Points of the statement signed jointly by Roosevelt and Churchill, let us look at some of them. Point three: "They respect the right of all peoples to choose the form of government under which they will live." Some people have chosen in the recent past a form of government the substance of which is the purpose of bringing all the others to live under it. Democratic toleration for the totalitarian governments in Europe—the principle of non-intervention — has not proved beneficial to democracy in the past. It would hardly prove so in the future. Point Four: "They will endeavor with due respect for their existing obligations to further the enjoyment by all states of access on equal terms to the trade and raw materials of the world." Should not the "existing obligations" be revised and subjected to the validity of the general principle? Skeptical readers may feel that the wording in this case was not particularly felicitous, and hostile critics may find some apparent justification in surmising that the "existing obligations" will take precedence over the desire for universal justice.

Point eight: "Since no future peace can be maintained if armaments continue to be employed by nations which threaten or may threaten aggression, they believe, pending the establishment of a wider and permanent system of security, that the disarmament of such nations is essential." We do not think that we will be ready to open forgetful arms to a repentant Axis immediately after its defeat. We do believe, however, that the spirit of enduring peace, which must animate our war, should be as loosely as possible connected with a purpose of revenge or fear. We believe with Oskar Jaszi—no Nazi indeed, no Naziphile—that no European problem can be solved without the wholehearted cooperation of



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a future Germany, due to the enormous economic and technical importance of Germany in Central Europe. The solution of the contradiction between this war and an enduring peace should be found probably in a modification of the clause "pending the establishment of a wider and permanent system of security." This system should be pending for as short a time as possible. Better, it should not be pending at all. We should come to peace with a full-fledged plan for a consistent and permanent peace.

What is the conclusion of this analysis? It might as well have been posited as a premise to it. It is that rulers in a democratic world do not think they can pledge themselves beyond certain screens and go the whole way toward final precisions. The Four Freedoms of Roosevelt remain thus far the best governmental statement of peace aims. Even they, however, symbolize the air which we hope to breathe in the new house of democracy rather than describe the bricks and timber of which it must be made.

The bricks and timber should be provided by people not in power, by thinkers and scientists, by intellectuals in the broadest sense of the word. Their contributions have already been abundant and remarkable. Let me choose, however, two examples, both of them conspicuous, considering the authority and prestige of the organizations from which the statements emanated. Scientists meeting in London last Steptember drafted a Seven Point Charter. The first six are rather vague. The seventh proclaims that "the pursuit of scientific inquiry demands complete intellectual freedom and unrestricted international exchange of knowledge, and can only flourish through the unfettered development of civilized life." This is true. But it is not much, as yet.

H. G. Wells, described by correspondents as a withering, almost collapsing old man, seemed to rank, anyhow, among the most youthful minds in that convention. He said: "Unless man adapts himself to the changing conditions, he may become extinct. There is no question of remaining as he is." This and other statements by the same speaker imply the need for precision and definition. They are a plea for planning. Democracy cannot defend itself and conquer unless it faces the concrete and specific issues of today and tomorrow. If it merely insists on the generalities of a statement of belief, democracy "might become extinct."

There was a convention on science, philosophy and religion in their relations to the democratic way of life last year in New York. There was a second one this year early in September. Scientists, humanists, theologians, a gathering of first-raters, attended the two conventions. The results which had been reached a year before, however, were not made more precise at the close of the convention this year. One hundred fourteen leaders of the cultural world were agreed that American democracy may accurately be described as having roots in the Christian and Jewish traditions; they also were agreed that the base of civilization is "the dignity and worth of the human personality." This is a sacred principle. It was good to assert it again. Its corollaries however, must be developed in a scientific and statesman-like way. There is danger in delay.

Planning must be integral and definite if it is to serve the purpose of a victorious war and of an enduring peace. A hope, a promise in all seriousness must be offered to those whom we draft and select, to those whom we summon to fight and win, perhaps to bleed and die.

This certainly started as a war of raw ideals. It has developed and will further develop into a war of religions. On the one side there is the religion of Plato, of the Jewish prophets, of Christ. This is the foundation of the City of Man to come. Of this city America is inevitably the corner stone. On the other side, opposite to the spirit of the world which we want to bequeath to our children, there is the perversion of perversions, the religion of Machiavelli and Nietzche passed through the brains of morons and killers. That is the religious foundation of the structure that opposes the City of Man. It might be called the concen-



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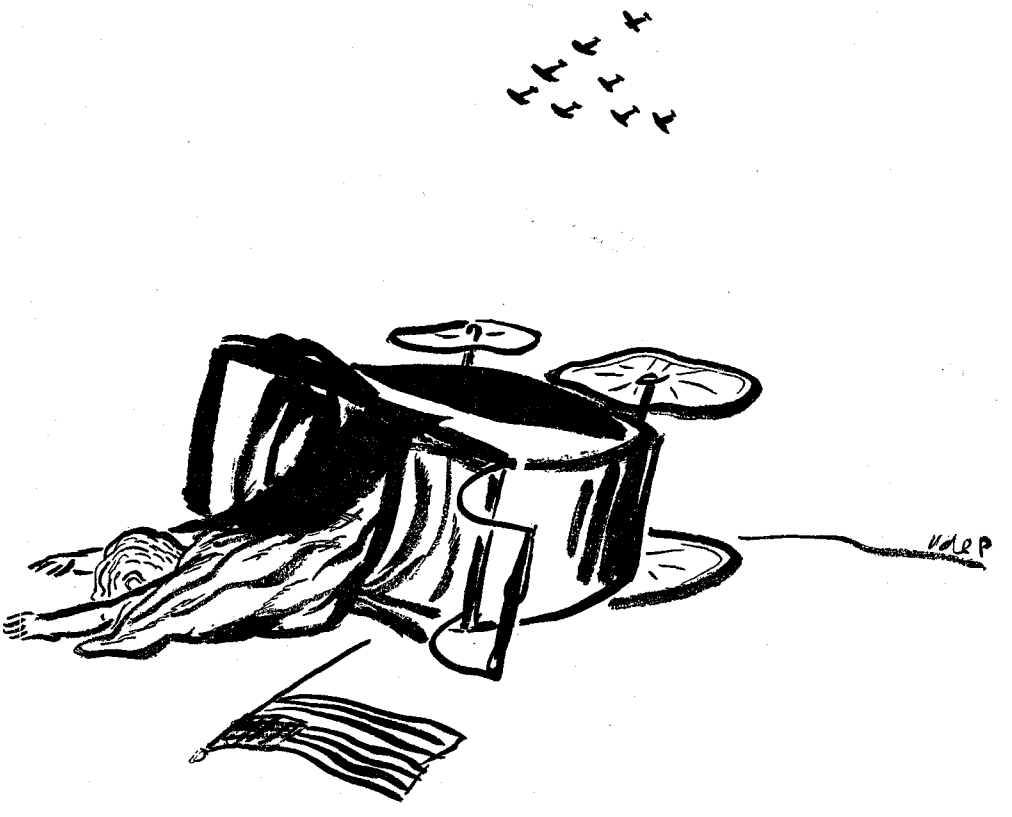
tration camp, the death house, of man.

But everything that has been said by Germans, even by Nazi Germans, is not necessarily wrong. I have quoted in these pages from several good people. Let me finish with a quotation from the Fuehrer. Says he on page 570 of Mein Kampf: "At a time when the one side, armed with all the weapons of even a thousandfold criminal view of life, sets out to storm an existing order, the other side can give resistance only if this resistance itself is clad in the forms of a new, in our case a political, faith, and if it exchanges the slogan of a weak and cowardly defense with the battle cry of courageous and brutal attack."

Let us leave the brutality to them. Let us take for us the courage and the faith. *Chicago, November* 3, 1941.





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# VICTIMS OF FASCISM

# Julian Zugazagoitia

by

Julio Alvarez del Vayo

THE bullet from the firing squad that stopped his heart struck at the same time the heart of Madrid. The town he had glorified in his sensitive and personal prose was now suffering the full blast of the new Gestapo drive. Heinrich Himmler had just been there for a brief visit and when informed of the high spirit that prevailed in the Spanish prisons had reacted as might have been expected: "Shoot them all!" All were not shot but Julian Zugazagoitia fell, as was his due if the best were going to die.

He was not from Madrid. He came from the north and his silhouette, his way of walking, and his beret at once revealed his origin. His name above all, that long name, Zugazagoitia, from which American readers need not shrink. Everybody called him Zuga and we shall stick to it here. He was from head to foot a Basque but Madrid had won him forever on that morning of July in 1936 when the masses poured into the streets with every kind of weapon they could procure and in a few hours accomplished the fall of the Cuartel de la Montaña, the main stronghold of Franco's rebel army.

From the office of "El Socialista," of which he is editor, Zuga follows the drama of Madrid from that day until the moment when the rebel troops, on the point of entering, are thrown back, beginning the most impressive epic in the annals of a besieged city. A man of his extrac-

Querido hermano:

Te mando con la carta de Catalina estas pocas líneas para decirte que, naturalmente, me acuerdo mucho de ti y de tío Marcelino, al que le darás mis recuerdos más cordiales y los abrazos que él merece por todas las preocupaciones que se ha tomado por Julia y los chicos. Espero que podré continuar escribiéndote; pero eso, como tu comprenderás, no depende exclusivamente de mi voluntad. Estos días son decisivos para mí y las esperanzas son buenas y muchas, aun cuando todavía no hay ninguna seguridad firme no me falta la necesaria salud moral para conservar la más perfecta serenidad. Lo que llegue, lo recibiré con la ecuanimidad necesaria, a lo que contribuye la confianza que tengo en que el tío Marcelino pueda hacer que su colega se ocupe de los míos de suerte que no paguen culpa que no son suyas ni mías. Descontada esa inquietud, todo me parecerá perfecto y solo quedará el sentimiento de no poder abrazarles y abrazaros.

En este trance me acompañan Cruz y otros cuatro amigos, para los que la situación es la misma. Se mantienen igualmente serenos, y con idénticas esperanzas. Si estas se cumpliesen, un cable os dirá la nueva, para tu tranquilidad y la del tío. En caso contrario, mi deseos serían que Fermín fuese a trabajar con Tenaro, que mostró ese gusto, y en cuanto a José Mari, sería una suerte, que reputo difícil, que pudiese estudiar en los EE. UU. Las chicas deben continuar con su madre, y en tanto ello sea posible, Julia con la madre y Juanita.

No necesito decirte la gratitud que tengo para tía Francisca y los primos, que en esta ocasión están haciendo cerca de mí el papel de madre y hermanos, con la misma emoción y la misma pasión que lo hubieráis hecho vosotros. Además de estos afectos familiares, debo inmensa gratitud y quiero que no se os olvide, al escritor Wenceslao Fernández Flores. Su conducta para conmigo es verdaderamente admirable y todo cuanto te diga de él reflejará pálidamente la conducta en que inspira su ayuda: cuando te escribo las esperanzas son, repito, muchas. Hay una suerte de reconocimiento de mi moral que me está siendo altamente favorable y que puede determinar que el peligro se aleje. Tu confianza, como la tengo yo. A veces creo firmemente que mi destino no se ha cerrado y aun puedo realizar todos mis proyectos de tipo literario.

Te repito mi fraternal gratitud para tío Marcelino y te mando con mis recuerdos para Tenarito, un fuerte abrazo

Julián

Octubre, 30.



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*Zugazagoitia's last letter, written to his brother from prison in Madrid, is shown on the page opposite. It gives instruction for the education of his children and offers comfort to his brother, revealing his wonderful serenity in the face of death.*

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tion can not, of course, limit himself to the role of reporter, however acute and honest, of what happens around him. A fighter since the years when he joined the Socialist Youth of Bilbao, with a long record of persecution and imprisonment behind him, he is not merely the commentator of the resistance, but a part of the resistance itself. And yet the integrity of the writer transcends the passion of the partisan. Being in the middle of the battle does not prevent him from registering his impressions with a serenity and a soft humor that makes the two books he has left us among the most valuable and human documents of the Spanish War. The volume covering the period from the outbreak of the rebellion until the consolidation of the resistance carries the simple title, "Madrid," subtitle, "Carranza 20," the street and number of the offices of "El Socialista."

It is the heroism of those first days that inevitably stirs Zuga most deeply and awakens his old faith in the virtues of the common people. The *milicianos* of the period before the creation of a regular army—it is they who appeal to the sensibility of a man grown up in close contact with the life of the worker: the baker, the carpenter, the barber and above all the printer who comes from his forms to tell him: "Well, Zuga, with the two or three old comrades and youngsters downstairs you have enough to get out the paper; I had the luck to get a rifle and this afternoon I leave for the Sierra." And leaving along with the workers are the reporter and the engineer and the doctor and the musician, and even the typist girl, every one who has the good fortune to get hold of a rifle. Since the assault on the Cuartel de la Montaña there are rifles and even machine guns, the latter in very small numbers to be distributed among the unions. Until then everybody had to satisfy himself with a pistol to meet the rebel army.

He loves those *milicianos* who go singing to death without even registering their names in the union office in order to secure a pension for their wives or their children. He hates those who remain half dressed in uniform in the cafes of Madrid emulating the fervor of the Club of the Jacobins. "All the rifles to the front," he writes morning after morning. He hates still more the display of arbitrary violence on the part of certain people who have no sense of the responsibility that the posssession of a gun places in their hands. He foresees already how the isolated acts of extremists, often maneuvered by *agents provocateurs,* will be exploited by fascist propaganda abroad, attaching to the Republic the infamous label of "red atrocities." He wants a people hard in the fight, courageous to temerity, a people such as he sees before his eyes, but capable also in its dealings with the enemy, of the greatness that the character of so noble a cause imposés.

Every time the feeling of the common people is the deciding factor he is sure of not being disappointed. I remember how he enjoyed the description of a scene that I witnessed in my capacity as acting chairman of the Socialist organization in Madrid a few weeks after the outbreak of the war. The Government had given orders that wherever the rebels might enter an effort should be made to save everything possible: documents, civil and penal files, works of art, the money in the banks. One morning very early three men came to the Socialist headquarters, unshaved, without sleep, with the fatigue of a hazardous trip visible in their faces. They were carrying a very heavy sack. They came from Talavera, which on the previous day had fallen into the hands of the rebels, and with them they brought about five million *pesetas* in bills and silver from the local branch of the Bank of Spain. The secretary of the organization, an excellent Social Democrat, with that severe sense of responsibility that made the Socialist Party of Spain an example of honesty and probity in the politics of the country, wanted to call in the other members of the Committee and to surround with all kinds of formalities the delivery of the receipt for this huge sum of money. The other members were in adjoining rooms extraordinarily busy with the distribution of arms



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and munitions to comrades from Extremadura and Andalucia who had come to Madrid to get the necessary material to organize several battalions of *milicianos*. As they delayed in answering the call, the men who held the sack became impatient and, using an expression which only Hemingway would dare put into English, one of them said: "Damn the receipt and the accounting. Let those other fellows go on with their job. I don't need any paper. When I entered the bank yesterday I had with me four pesetas and seventy-five centimos. The seventy-five centimos went last night for an omelette and a glass of wine. This morning there wasn't time to take coffee. So the four pesetas are intact. Here they are. Keep them, too. For the Cause." And without waiting for our thanks he walked out of the room.

Zuga's appreciation of the qualities of the simple people of Madrid helps him to await with confidence the hour of the supreme test. It is on November 6, 1936 when he finds his hopes entirely fulfilled. Madrid becomes tense and acquires that consistency of tempered steel which it was to maintain during two and a half years as a symbol of Spanish resistance Emotions multiply each day: the arrival of a lorry with shells when all ammunition is exhausted; the testing of a new machine-gun like a wonderful, unexpected toy, a machine-gun that has been converted by the ingenuity of some mechanics into an antiaircraft piece—a weapon which Madrid at that time entirely lacked; the quickness with which even the youngsters master the technique of defense, discovering ways of zig-zagging along the street to keep on the side least exposed to the explosions from the big enemy batteries; the inspiring appearance of the first volunteers of the International Brigades, looking at the same time strange and familiar, men of every race, singing in unintelligible tongues a single, world-famous song: "Spain Against the Fascists"; the death of Martinez de Aragón, one of the first popular heroes, a noble, high-ranking officer who has rushed to the firing-line to fall on the side of the workers in the defense of his country. All these things are reflected in the pages that Zuga writes in his diminutive and beautiful handwriting — the epic of Madrid; and above all the dignity of the city. Heroism, yes; courage, yes; grace and a sense of humor, yes; but above all a tremendous dignity which never degenerates into vulgar pride. That was the gesture of Madrid. The foreign delegations, British, French, Scandinavian, American, were all touched by the dignity with which Madrid was able to endure everything, even the lack of understanding and the stupid egotism which characterized the capitals of the other democracies.

His year in the Ministry of the Interior, to which Dr. Negrin appoints him in 1937, does not compensate Zuga for the satisfaction he found in sharing the fight as one of the people. When the crisis of 1938 produces the reorganization of the Cabinet it is only out of a sense of discipline that he accepts the new post of General Secretary of the unified Department of Defense which he holds until the end of the war.

The other war, second act of the Spanish drama, finds Zuga in France as a refugee. He suffers to see his comrades of the fight thrown like pigs into the concentration camps, their offers of service as aviators, artillerymen, *dinamiteros* having been ignored. And yet, like Dr. Negrin, like all of us, Zuga places the victory of France and England above everything. He becomes furious when somebody says: "They are paying for what they did." "For their terrible blunder in Spain they are already paying in blood; let us not talk about it. It is not the moment to blame but to help." Zuga helps in his way by writing against Hitler in *"La Vanguardia"* of Buenos Aires.

Suddenly the memory of Madrid comes to him as a fire to inflame him and to betray him. Paris has remained alone, alone with its people. The government has left, and with the government, the traitors and the appeasers of the Quai d'Orsay. The air is clear of the imbecility and the shame of those who, with the name of France always on their lips, sold her



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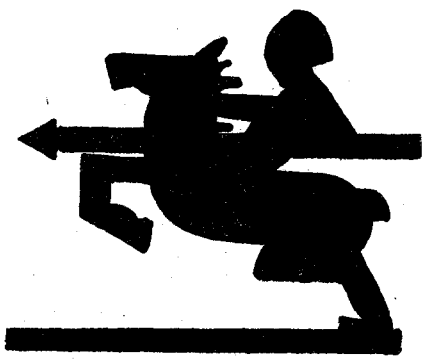
to the enemy, those who look upon the anti-fascist fighters who had taken refuge in the capital of the Rights of Man as enemies instead of as allies. It is now the people of Paris, the people of the Bastille and of the Commune, free from the demoralization that has paralyzed their action, it is they who are going to throw back the Nazis at the doors of the city, repeating Madrid. His last article, published in Buenos Aires on June 9, three days before the entrance of the Nazis into Paris, still reveals a passionate confidence. "The German radio is mistaken. Its reports are not only wrong but mendacious. Paris is not Berlin. Now, when I have put my signature under this article, I shall walk through the town. I shall go along the river to look at the old book-shops on those wonderful streets, the rue Bonaparte, the rue de la Seine, those book-shops which still conceal exciting discoveries. Paris has not the offensive joy of Berlin but it has something that Berlin doesn't know—the security of victory." A prediction at which the professional reporter may smile but which reveals the fibre of our friend.

For his enthusiasm he was going to pay with death. He refuses to follow the other refugees who go to Toulouse and Marseilles. He tells them in a brotherly way: You will come back soon. He is arrested by the Gestapo and delivered to Franco.

His trial in Madrid impressed even the smug officers who formed the Court. A South American diplomat who witnessed the trial told us that Zuga was simply marvelous. The whole heroism of Madrid, the whole dignity of Madrid, was embodied in this Basque of few words, but capable of moving a hostile audience.

In his last letter, written to his brother now in New York, Julian Zugazagoitia makes the best picture of himself that could be drawn. We reproduce this letter here with a sensation of pride at having fought at his side.





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# TRAGIC DAYS *over* THE PACIFIC

By LI YU-YING

*MR. LI YU-YING, one of the collaborators of President Sun Yat-Sen, founder of the Chinese Republic, has just come back from a trip to China after having visited the Philippines, Guam, Wake and Midway Islands, and Hawaii. President Li Yu-Ying has a splendid record of work in international law and for collective security. He is a distinguished member of the International Institute for Intellectual Cooperation and President of the National Chinese Academy, Peiping. One of the editors of Free World immediately visited Mr. Li Yu-Ying on his arrival to learn his impressions. His material and documents about the Pacific, plans for future organization in the Far East, China's resistance, etc., are extremely interesting and will be published in a later edition.*

I HAD no sooner arrived in New York than you asked me to give you an account of my trip. Very willingly, but with the understanding that this is merely a rapid sketch, I consent.

I remember that I was at your temporary offices when you were just organizing the magazine, about six months ago, at the time when I was leaving the United States for Chungking. I have seen the results of your work in your first number, which we received by air mail at the seat of the resisting government, then under bombardment. On arriving here and seeing progress made I congratulate you on your growing success.

The Chinese organizations against aggression—devoted to research, etc.—now publish in Chinese a similar review, having the same character, the same ideal, the same format as well as the same stress on unity and solidarity. This Chinese review is a member of the group of world publications striving for universal confederation. It represents Asiatic democracy in this fraternity, the idea of which has been so dear to China for years, and these world organs will be those of the international institution during and after the war. If I emphasize the words after the war, it is because the war is on the right track, even though it is still far from being ended, and because democratic victory is assured. But I think too of the future —of a world institution which will perhaps be called a League of Nations. The first is not dead, only withered, but the name matters little. The essential point of FREE WORLD, in English as well as in other languages, among them Chinese, is that these organs of opinion, of research and documentation will be valuable in preparing for world federation. That is my opinion of your publication and of the Chinese attitude toward you, which I present like a postman delivering a letter by the



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last plane—a postman who comes directly from Chungking and brings you the latest news from there, although a bit delayed by the Japanese bombardment of Honolulu.

I made a talk at a large international banquet in Chungking the night before my departure, a speech as casual as this interview. That evening the most distinguished representatives of many nations were present—the United States Ambassador, the Ambassador from Great Britain, and other Ambassadors, ministers and consuls of Belgium, the U.S.S.R., Holland, Australia, etc., as well as the representatives of the Kuomintang party. They made speeches about victory, the democratic cause, the crimes and defeats of the Axis. I really had nothing more to add. I was content to tell these gentlemen—friends of the League of Nations and of FREE WORLD—that I was leaving the following day and that I would transmit to our friends in America all that had been said by them.

I left the following morning for Hong Kong from where I hoped to continue my trip immediately, but my departure by clipper was delayed a bit by war confusion, or rather a sort of pre-war confusion, since the United States was not at that time at war. Finally, I was able to leave Hong Kong and to proceed to Manila, Guam, Wake Island, and Midway without incident or the inclement weather often run into crossing the Pacific; but I was put into quarantine by the Japanese bombardment of Honolulu and by the temporary disorganization of commercial air transportation. Without being aware of it then, I had taken the last clipper before the Japanese-American war. If I had delayed one week longer in Hong Kong or somewhere along the Pacific I should not be here now. I should have been taken prisoner by the Japanese if I had stopped at Guam, for example. Part of the trip was made in the company of Mr. Litvinoff, Soviet Ambassador, but I cannot now divulge any details of my conversation with him.

On December 7th, at breakfast, I heard the fire of cannon and rifles and the explosion of bombs; simultaneously an American woman stopping at the same hotel gave me the first news of the Japanese-American war. The Chinese consul arrived with the same news and informed me that a bomb had fallen close to the Chinese consulate and finally, Mrs. Wang, widow of the former Chinese Minister to Warsaw, ashore from a Dutch steamer bound from the United States for the Far East, told me what she had seen while on board; many bombs aimed at American war vessels fell close to hers. Despite the frightful rain of bombs and shells, the captain of the Dutch steamer kept his passengers calm and cool. There was no panic and no disastrous accidents occurred. He announced, "These are only exercises." When calm was established he revealed the truth and had his passengers disembark to seek whatever shelter they could find. Mrs. Wang and her company were very unhappy. She, her husband and her family had miraculously escaped from the Polish invasion, though they left one member of their suite dead behind them. Passing through Belgium, the Minister himself was wounded. They took refuge in Switzerland where he died. Mrs. Wang wanted to return to China but now found herself stopped in Honolulu.

"Exercises" and "practice" were words heard frequently in those days in the Hawaiian capital. From where I was, in the Hotel Holekulani, I myself saw the lights and heard the noise of the detonations, the fusillades on the beach. One night, in the complete obscurity of a black-out, I was awakened by very strong detonations which lasted for a long time. All I could do was to listen. I anxiously awaited the coming of day and I said to myself, "It will be too bad if the bombs fall on the flimsy houses—Hawaiian style—which give an illusion of protection." The grottos and caverns of Chungking, crudely dug, suffocating, especially in the summer, when I spent many long hours in them not so long ago, were infinitely better than the Pacific "paradise," far from all other lands, from Japan as well as from Germany, where the idea of a bombardment would not normally present itself to the mind. So explosions were often interpreted as "practice."

"Practice," not in ordinary imperialistic war, but in defense of peace, not by prayers and words in a large temple on the shores of Lake Leman, but in an ideological battle for freedom is essential. We are fighting squarely against the past, advancing toward a phase of a free world. We are seeking to realize collective security, neglected in the past but now happily moving toward acceptance. The hard campaigns are not over and we need more "practice" to bring about the realization of



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our ideal, but we are no longer afraid to defend our common cause.

I was worried for a time, not knowing whether I was going to remain in Hawaii, whether I was going to be isolated for a time in the middle of the Pacific, or whether I would have the opportunity to continue my trip by air or by sea. There were military orders and municipal broadcasts warning the public to keep off the streets. Telephone service was often interrupted so I went to Pan-American Airways to beg them to tell me whether I would be able to leave or whether I would be forced to remain where I was. Finally, I received a call advising me to be ready to leave immediately and to board my plane. I followed these instructions and then asked where I was going, since my reservations had been automatically cancelled by recent events. The answer was always the same, "That is a secret, no one knows the destination. You will know it only when you get there." Leaving in the afternoon we arrived the following morning above a large city, which I was told was San Francisco.

In the near future I hope it will be possible for me to give you other impressions and facts relating to my trip.

In conclusion, I want to go back to my conviction that victory is certain. All world democratic forces are now engaged in a common battle and whatever may be in store for us in unexpected attacks by the Axis, we must win by our immense superiority in men, resources and above all in ideals. In China, resistance has increased. I remember at the time of my trips from Europe and America to China, when bad news was announced my occidental friends thought that China was lost. But now I believe they realize that the Chinese people will never yield. The strongest impression China makes on me is of resistance in behalf of world democracy as well as for China itself. Immediately after the attack on the United States, China declared war not only on Japan but also on Germany and Italy, for Marshal Chiang Kai-Shek and the entire Chinese nation understand the nature of this war as being against all the totalitarian powers. In the American possessions in the Pacific I also had the impression that in spite of the surprise and the ravages caused the spirit of resistance is strong. Upon arriving in the United States, this impression of courage, this magnificent decision of the American nation, united in war not only for the United States, but as President Roosevelt has said, for the future of human liberty, with what I know of the strength of the British people and with the increasing spirit of resistance in occupied Europe makes me sure that we will defeat the totalitarian powers. But the destruction of evil will not be complete unless international public opinion, educated and organized as FREE WORLD wants to make it, united above and beyond national frontiers by a common ideological conception, agrees on the fundamental principles of democratic, international, political and economic organization.

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# AN INTELLECTUAL'S MANIFESTO

A UNITED front, a vigorous intellectual action against Fascism, the alignment of all the nations of this hemisphere for the defense of freedom—these are the demands made on government and public opinion by two assemblies of intellectuals last month in Havana.

With the tragic example of Europe before them, they made an effort, during the preparatory period, to put aside political debate. They had seen and wanted to avoid all the old arguments which had resulted in a bloody fiasco. It seemed desirable to *menager* public opinion in South America, and to avoid fostering quarrels there among peoples of different origins and allegiances; to exorcise the ghost of the old world with its centers of effete culture, at present devastated by despotism; to concentrate on facilities for intellectual interchange between the Americas.

From the first, the writers, professors, and scholars sent by the National Committees of Intellectual Cooperation of all America freed themselves from these bonds. A set of resolutions, circulated early in the meetings by one of the Cuban delegates, Portell Villà, was vague



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and uncertain, giving rise to some misunderstanding among certain reporters about the nature of the assembly's really vigorous feelings. But before the meetings closed those feelings were given strong expression in the manifesto reproduced herewith. Before approaching their technical work, the delegates affirmed the principles of freedom without which there is no spiritual life, no easy intellectual exchange; they proclaimed solidarity with their colleagues of enslaved Europe and their duty toward those who, on the other side of the ocean, suffer, resist and fight at the risk of their lives; they condemned the massacre of innocent persons and declared their determination to dedicate themselves to anti-Fascist action.

The Axis had not yet attacked the United States. But these intellectuals had already revealed to North America where some of its friends are. South Americans in favor of the defense of freedom and popular rights are with them. They understood long ago where Nazi victory would lead them. The United States will strengthen moral unity in the continent by leading the forces of free thought and democracy; these were at its side long before the infamy of Pearl Harbor.

Like the International Labor Conference which took place in New York last October, the International Intellectual Assemblies of Cuba proved to be living, strong, protests against a neutrality which is impossible in the face of the drama which shakes the world. Besides the resolutions here summarized, which were addressed to various governments, the members of the assemblies adopted, before parting, the following manifesto:

*"The Americans, from both North and South America, and the Europeans who have been invited to Havana for the Discussion organized by the Cuban Commission on Intellectual Cooperation, deeply moved by the suffering inflicted on the peoples of the world by the aggression of the barbarians, have adopted unanimously the following resolutions:*

*"(1) We condemn the policy of conquest which the Axis powers and their accomplices have undertaken in all parts of the world.*

*"(2) We affirm the necessity of a united purpose and united action among all the countries of North and South America to meet the danger which threatens us all, and the necessity of a united will to fight this danger, above all when it appears in the form of isolation or neutrality.*

*"(3) We express our gratitude to those nations which were the first to sacrifice themselves in order to stop the aggression, our admiration for all the nations and free forces which are continuing the fight and which, by their heroism, are preparing the final victory, our fraternal sympathy for all those who, at the risk of their lives, continue resistance in the countries which have been, for the moment, subjugated or invaded and for all those who are at present being persecuted on grounds of race or of political philosophic or religious ideals.*

*"(4) We declare that those who devote themselves to intellectual pursuits, in all the countries which are free, are under obligation to defend the freedom of peoples, the rights of man and the rights of the citizen, and the principles of economic and social justice.*

*"(5) We proclaim that upon the Americas falls the duty of guiding and preserving the common inheritance of the cultures that are threatened, and of assuring the continuance of collective intellectual and spiritual action.*

*"(6) We support the recommendation of the Conference on Intellectual Cooperation of Havana which provides for the establishment and maintenance of a center of common action.*

*"(a) This action should be directed especially in such a way as to permit men of intellectual pursuits to maintain the contacts which are essential to a united front, to mobolize the conscience of North and South America against antidemocratic doctrines and propaganda and against the spirit of indifference or appeasement, to enlighten public opinion and the governments of our respective countries; and to assure the systematic development of intellectual collaboration.*

*"(b) To this end, we support the resolution of the Conference of Havana concerning International Scientific Unions and Organizations.*

*"(c) We urge especially that this collaboration should have as its chief purpose, rising above all selfish or isolating tendencies, to achieve an organic solution of world problems as the only possible means of safeguarding peace, freedom and democracy."*

The following people were present: Louis Adamic, G. Arciniegas, Max Ascoli, Cesar Barja, S. Barr, Henri Bonnet, G. A. Borgese, William Berrien, Luis A. Baralt, L. D. Bellegarde, M. Brull Y. Caballero, William E. B. du Bois, P. Bosch-Gimpera, A. Castro Leal, J. M. Cortina, J. M. Chacon Y Calvo, Henri Focillon, M. Henriquez Ureña, Francisco Ichaso, Hans Kelsen, H. Keniston, Freda Kirchwey, J. W. Krutch, Henri Laugier, Jorge Mañach, Juan Marinello, Julian Nogueira, J. Nucete-Sardi, F. Ortiz Y Fernandez, M. Ozorio de Almeida, Richard Patee, H. P. Vila, Arnold Raestad, Samuel Ramos, J. J. Remos, Jules Romains, Ribeiro Couto, L. R. Embil, Carlo Sforza, James T. Shotwell, Marshall H. Stone, Cosme De La Torriente Y Peraza, Carlos De La Torre Y Huerta, George C. Vaillant, Ramon Vasconcelos, Medardo Vitier, Francisco Walker Linares, Maria Zambrano, Salvador Massip, Cesar Salaya, George Zook.



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# *Internal Foundations of* RUSSIAN VITALITY

*by*

VASSILI SOUKHOMLINE

THE continued strength of Soviet Russia astonishes many people. It was widely believed in Europe, even up to the time the war began, that the Red Army could not hold out more than five or six weeks and that the Soviet regime would collapse like a house of cards. Hitler planned on conquering the Soviet Union before autumn. But six months have passed and Russia still stands, while the German armies retreat on all fronts. German military experts are compelled to admit "the almost unimaginable strength" of the Soviet Army, according to Lieutenant-Colonel Soldan, writing in the *Voelkische Beobachter*.

What is the explanation of this unexpected strength? Those who predicted a quick capitulation of Soviet Russia and its early disintegration now explain its resistance as the result of instinctive mass patriotism, love of the native soil, and hatred for the hereditary enemy. They say it is not the first time the Russian people have risen against an invader. All this is true, but it is not an adequate explanation. The French also have a reputation for patriotism and no doubt love their country. Yet the French bourgeoisie feared victory more than defeat. Their fear of the democratic Popular Front was stronger than their attachment to national independence. As a result the Fifth Column had agents in the inner circles of the government, and the government was incapable of inspiring its people with the will to fight. Thus at the end of three weeks French resistance was broken.

From much that has been written by reputable European and American correspondents and military experts, one might well have expected that the Soviet Republic would meet the same fate as France. It was a much younger state, and therefore presumably had less solid foundations. Its internal difficulties had been greater than any faced by France. It is certain that Hitler expected the internal collapse of his enemy. The Russian peasants were supposed to prefer the devil himself to Stalin. Before the German attack it was said: "Stalin will never dare order general mobilization." Yet not only did he do so, but as all the world knows, the Soviet government distributed arms to the civil population and decreed a *levée en masse* in Moscow, Leningrad, Odessa, and all menaced regions. As to mobilization, reliable observers reported that it went smoothly. It was said the Ukraine would revolt at the first sound of guns. Nothing of the sort occurred, and the Soviet regime proved itself much more solid than was believed possible.

The Soviet Union is the youngest nation in Europe. One may even say it is the only young nation. The Russian revolution was not a mere change of political regime accompanied by social reforms; it was the actual birth of a new world. The entire structure of the old Russian society was destroyed. Between 1917 and 1923 a new state and a new social order were created. The administration of the young state and its economy were put into the hands of new men who came from the people. The revolution made possible the exploitation of reserves of vital energy and enthusiasm in the people which the Czarist regime suppressed. It awakened a great thirst for knowledge in the youth of the peasantry and workers. The new government made high schools and colleges accessible to them and encouraged them by all possible means to take advantage of these opportunities. Before the revolution there were ninety-one universities and colleges with 112,000 students enrolled, and 295 technical schools with 35,000 students. The Soviet Union today possesses 708 universities and colleges with 602,000 students enrolled, and 3,732 technical schools with 951,000 students. Between 1928 and 1937 the universities gave the country 522,000 specialists, and the technical schools 951,000. From 1937 to 1942 more than 600,000 students will have been graduated from the uni-



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versities and 1,420,000 from technical schools. Pupils now in the elementary and high schools number nearly 35,000,000 as against 8,000,000 in 1914. Of the students now in universities and colleges half are children of peasants and workers, 47% are children of specialists, public officials and employes, and 3% are children of artisans and parents in the liberal professions.

A new intellectual elite coming from the people itself has been formed in Russia. In general the biological factors in the Russian situation are not taken sufficiently into account. The maturing of the new generation has transformed the moral physiognomy of the country as much as has the industrial development and reorganization of agriculture its economic structure. Today, twenty-three years after the fall of Czarism, in all departments of public life, literature, science and the arts, one finds young men and women between twenty-five and forty in key positions. They are sons and daughters of peasants and workers, and are not only Russians, but Ukranians, Armenians, Tarters, Uzbeks, etc. At a conference of the governing party held in February, 1941, of 457 delegates representing about 2,500,000 members, 163 (35.6%) were less than thirty-five years of age; 195 (42.8%) were between thirty-six and forty; 90 (19.8%) were between forty-one and fifty; and only 8 (1.8%) were more than fifty years old. Of the total number, 191 were university graduates (116 being engineers), and 123 had not yet completed their university studies.

The new generation educated in the Soviet schools owes its present position in the country to the revolution which lifted those children out of the misery and ignorance in which their families had lived for centuries. They lack the veneer of civilization but have the magnificent qualities of their race, coupled with plebian energy and vigor. The industrial development of the country and exploitation of its rich natural resources offer a large field for their activities. Of particular importance is the fact that these recently educated specialists—engineers, doctors, professors, army officers, etc.—who have emerged from the people are not absorbed into another social class. They do not put themselves at the service of a social order based on the principles of private capitalist property and distinction between owners and workers. They remain closely attached to the milieu of their origin and form a strong link between the masses of the people and regime. In this new class there has been formed what might be called a national conscience—a Soviet patriotism common to all nationalities composing the Russian federal state.

In contrast to the nationalism and official patriotism of old Russia, some of the revolutionary leaders exaggerated in the opposite direction during the years immediately following the collapse of the Czarist regime. All manifestations of patriotism and nationalism were discouraged. All that recalled Russia's history was ignored. Many had faith in the idea of world revolution as a means of solving Russia's internal difficulties. The situation changed completely toward 1927-1928 when Russia realized that she must rely upon her own resources and not await problematic aid from a future socialist Europe. As the new generation found themselves increasingly in a position to direct the country's activities they felt more and more their debt to history; they began looking at Russia with fresh eyes. They discovered Russia's greatness, her position in the world, and her immense possibilities. These children of peasants and workers felt themselves the heirs of those who had built an immense empire occupying a sixth of the world's surface. Stalin's strength lay in his understanding of the needs and desires of the new elite. But he did not invent the new Russian patriotism. It sprang from the soil with the new generation.

Soviet patriotism has little in common with the old Russian nationalism or imperialism. The Soviet Union is a federation of many nationalities. There is no question now of the oppresson of nationalities in Russia. On the contrary, development of all national cultures is encouraged. Anti-Semitism or other race hatred agitation is punished by law. At school Russian children are taught to appreciate Ukranian poetry, Armenian literature, Uzbek folklore. The press, cinema, and theatre collaborate in encouraging mutual comprehension. Thus there has been formed a Soviet nation which may be compared to the American nation which also is composed of different ethnic groups. Restrictions imposed on personal liberty by the government are applied without discrimination among nationalities or color. The purpose of such restrictions is to prevent the restoration of private capitalism. In foreign policy the new generation has no imperialist aims. Among the new leaders there is no group or association of private interests which needs to seize new markets, raw materials, or control and exploit cheap labor. The new generation has been educated in the spirit of international solidarity of peoples and hatred of fascism and imperialism.

Army education has been in the same spirit. "Rules of Discipline," paragraph 2, says: "The Red Army's mission is not to enslave other peoples or conquer other territories." In the present struggle Soviet Union soldiers of different nationalities fight shoulder to shoulder against a common enemy with equal valor and courage. Among men and officers who have received decorations are Ukranians, Lithuanians, Estonians, and natives of the Caucasus and Central Asia.



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Marshal Timoshenko is Ukranian. Ukranian guerillas are operating behind the German army. Russian newspapers published an account of the heroism of a Latvian regiment commanded by a Colonel Ulpe, who fell in battle.[1]

The spirit animating the army and masses is not merely instinctive patriotism and elemental natural reaction agains an alien invader. That spirit is certainly there, but it is enlightened and ennobled by a far deeper consciousness of national solidarity. The Russian masses are today better educated, clearer sighted, and more united than in any previous wars. The people are conscious of being the master of their own destiny and they know that they fight in defense of all they have accomplished at great sacrifice. They have confidence in the men in command, for they know them to be men of the people. Their confidence is the greater because their leaders foresaw danger, warned the country, prepared the material means of defense, and knew how to create an army and organize industry.

Development of the new educated generation was simultaneous with the economic transformation of the country. The development of industry and reorganization of agriculture were decided upon about 1927-1928. The authors of Piatiletka (Five Year Plan) had three essential aims. First, assure the Soviet Union's economic self-sufficiency; second, create a powerful military instrument; third, build the foundations of a socialist economy. In 1930 Stalin said: "We are from fifty to a hundred years behind other countries. We must catch up in ten years. If not, we shall be crushed." Within twelve years the economic structure of Russia has been completely transformed. Under the former regime Russia had to import its principal raw materials, manufactured products, machinery, and weapons. Today that dependence on other countries has been almost eliminated. The Russian industrial production, which toward 1921 had fallen to 14% below pre-war figures, by 1927 had again reached its former level. By 1938 production had risen to nine times that amount. Production of coal has risen from 29,100,000 metric tons in 1913 to 164,000,000 in 1940; steel production from 4,200,000 to 18,400,000; rolled steel from 3,500,000 to 12,800,00; aluminum from zero to 80,000 tons in 1937; automobiles from zero to 220,000 in 1937; tractors from zero to 172,000, etc.

Before the revolution Russia was essentially an agricultural country. Within ten years it has become a great industrial power. In 1913 its industrial production equalled about one-fifth of British and one-half of French production. By 1937 production was 50% greater than England's and three times greater than French production. Russia is now able to produce all the machinery she needs as well as strategic raw materials.

These results have been achieved at the cost of great effort and sacrifice. The Stalin program was realized by the use of dictatorial methods. Resistance among certain sections of the people, and to some extent in the ranks of government officials was crushed. It resulted in dissatisfaction which Hitler strove to exploit. On the other hand the economic development created new possibilities of work for millions of people, brought progress to the more backward regions, and prepared the way for raising the standard of life for the whole population. This program could not have been realized without the willing collaboration of the workers. They accepted temporary privations because they understood they were working not for private profit but for the collective good. Last but not least, the industrialization made it possible to equip the Russian army with modern weapons for the first time. In 1939 Russia had forty-three times more tanks than in 1930 and six and a half times more airplanes, while artillery strength was multiplied seven fold. In 1939 there was 13 h.p. for each soldier as compared with 3.7 per man in 1930.

It now seems evident that without realization of this program Russia could not have held out against the German mechanized forces. Russia's economic, social, and psychological transformation within twenty-three years explains sufficiently, I think, its amazing spirit and power of resistance. One can equally well understand why, unlike in France, there was no group in the population with sympathy for Hitler's plans.

In spite of the progress achieved, the Soviet Union still has fewer tanks and airplanes than Germany. The German industry not only remained intact after the first World War but was perfected and developed since with the aid of the victors. Today Germany has at its disposel the entire industry of Continental Europe. When the second World War started Russia had not completed its program of industrial equipment and rearmament. So Russia needs American and British help. It is often asked whether, after the loss of the Ukrainian industries, the Soviet Union will have sufficient resources to continue resistance. The answer is yes. The first two Five Year Plans created new industrial areas in the interior and eastern parts of the country with a view to national defense. The third Five Year Plan will be completed by the end of 1942 and

[1] The Soviet Union has maintained intact the national Estonian, Latvian, and Lithuanian armies. In this connection it should be noted that the Czarist government never dared introduce conscription for the Mussulman population of the Caucasus and Central Asia. An attempt to mobilize Turkestan during the first World War provoked an insurrection. Today all these populations serve together in the Red Army.



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further reinforce those industrial centers situated far from the present front. Fifteen years ago Russian metallurgy was concentrated in Ukrania. In 1938, after the establishment of the Ural-Kuzbas industrial combine, plants in the Ural mountains and further east, produced 32% of the iron ore and pig iron, 33% of the rolled steel, 36.6% of the coal, and 10% of the machinery of the whole country. During the same year 44% of the nation's machinery was produced in central Russia and the Volga region. These figures, however, concern only general industry because the number and location of armament plants constitute a military secret. It is known, nevertheless, that the majority of new arms and airplane factories have been built far from the danger zone.

The third Five Year Plan (1937-42) included the investment of 192,000,000,000 rubles and the expansion of all industrial producton by 92%. Of the total capital invested, the Ukraine and White Russia received 36,200,000,000 rubles, central Russia, 40,000,000,000 rubles and the rest was for developing industry in the Volga region, Siberia, Central Asia, and the Caucasus. In February, 1940, the government took measures for intensifying and accelerating construction of new factories. During 1941 they opened 1,576 factories and expected to finish building 2,213 new enterprises while enlarging 742 others. Two large metallurgy plants were to be built in Siberia in 1941, two others in the Urals, and yet another in Trans-Caucasia. The Soviet press has said that construction of new power plants rated at 1,750,000 kilowatts, would be completed before the end of 1941. It is known that the largest power plants recently opened are deep in the Soviet hinterland. On of these, at Chirchik, in Central Asia, is rated at 278,000 kilowatts. Another, south of the Kouznetz basin, is rated at 240,000 kilowatts. The largest of all is a plant now building near Kuibishev, which should be able to furnish 3,000,000 kilowatts. It will be more powerful than Boulder Dam. Four other power plants are being constructed in the Volga region.

The third Five Year Plan was so conceived as to assure the metallurgy industry of the East fuel and electric power from the immediate vicinity. In 1942 the region of the East should produce 92,340,000 tons of coal as compared with 41,500,000 in 1938. The oil fields east of the Volga, the so-called second Baku, should yield 7,000,000 tons of petrol in 1942, as much as Baku yielded in 1913. In and to the east of the Urals, steel production for 1942 is scheduled at approximately half the output of the country in 1940. Production called for in these areas for the current year amounts to 7,500,000 tons of pig iron, 9,500,000 tons of steel, and 7,500,000 tons of rolled steel. The workings of the Magnitogorsk iron mines have been expanded in the six months of war. The ore lies very near the surface and the output, per worker, is 50% higher than in the Ukraine.

It must be remembered that the output of non-ferrous metals essential to war industries, except for aluminum, comes almost entirely from the Urals, Siberia, and Central Asia. If the aluminum factories of Leningrad and the Ukraine have been transferred to the Urals, as is probable, it should be easy to produce this metal, because in that region bauxite is plentiful.

It is known that numerous plants have already been transferred East, not only from the Ukraine and the Western provinces, but also from Moscow. But it is not generally known that the third Five Year Plan provided for such a transfer in case of war. As a matter of fact, duplicate factories were in construction east of those already existing in Moscow, Odessa, etc., so that machinery could be quickly installed.

It was often asked whether Soviet organization was sufficiently flexible and efficient to adapt itself to war needs. Many examples were cited pointing to excessive bureaucratic red-tape, administrative slowness in reaching decisions, Russian indolence, and the incompetence of certain functionaries. All these faults exist to some extent, and the Soviet press constantly denounces them. But it also tells of means employed to combat inefficiency: close supervision over execution of orders, work, etc., increased authority and responsibility extended to foremen, encouraging individual and collective initiative, emulation, prize competitions, piece work, and higher salaries for expert work, etc. At the last U.S.S.R. Communist Party Conference, in February, 1941, Mr. Malenkov, the young party secretary, made a detailed report on the whole question and did not mince words in criticizing certain communist executives who indulged in "idle talk" and considered that their "proletarian origins" excused incompetence. He reminded the conference that the 1936 Soviet Constitution had abolished class distinctions, and that the non-party son of a former bourgeois, when a capable administrator or technician, was preferable to an inefficient hereditary proletarian Communist.

Since the outbreak of hostilities the daily Soviet communiqués publish "work front" news. On August 28th *Pravda* wrote that a tremendous effort to increase production and improve public services was observable all over Russia. Bearing in mind the new Russian psychology, there is no reason to doubt that engineers, workmen, and government employes all work with the same zeal as the soldiers. Official bulletins cite cases where production by certain workmen has increased 200, 300, and even 500 per cent,



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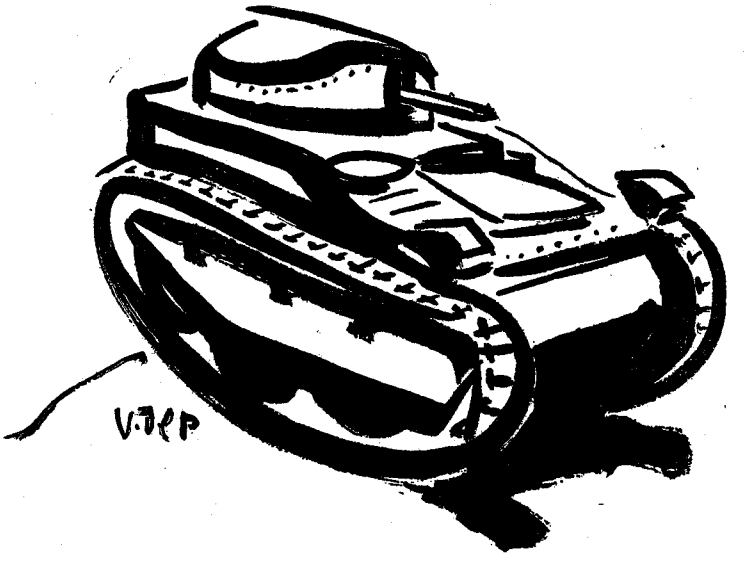
this last being in the Uralmash Machinery Factory. A month after the loss of the Krivoi Rog metal-industry region, the Urals Magnitogorsh smelting and steel plants had increased production by 50 per cent. Plant and factory evacuation eastward was carried out well and rapidly. At the party conference in February 1941, a certain arms factory covering 19,500 square meters and destined to employ several thousand hands was reported as having been built in three months. In building war-material plants the Russians use standard American methods. I shall give only two examples of collective initiative. The movement for voluntary Sunday work was started by youth organizations. Hundreds of thousands of people place themselves at the service of the authorities on Sundays for highway repairs and urgent public works. Regarding voluntary mobilization of women, its aims at replacing men in various spheres. Even in Central Asia, which used to be extremely backward, thousands of Kirghiz or Kazakh women learn to drive cars, tractors, railway engines, pass examinations for railway, postal, telegraph service, and other employment. In peace time the proportion of women in industry had reached 37 per cent (in 1940) which was higher than in any other country. There were then 100,000 women engineers. In Europe and America, as far as is known, there are approximately 10,000.

Transportation has shown great improvement in the last 10 to 15 years. Railways were formerly the weak point of the Russian regime. In 15 years the railway system has been extended and improved. By 1938 there was an increase of 26,500 kilometers. By 1937 the number of locomotives was given as 24,200 and that of cars as 784,200. In 1937 Soviet railways moved an average of 4,175,000 ton-kilometers of freight along every kilometer of track. Similar statistics for Germany give 1,524,000, and for France only 740,000. For comparison, in 1929 American railways moved 1,930,000 ton-kilometers per kilometer of track. In 1937 the percentage of empty freight cars as compared to the total number was 26,300, which was lower than in any other European country. The average speed of Russian freight trains for that year was 33.4 kilometers per hour, compared to 21.1 in 1928. According to British expert witnesses the performance of the Soviet railways during the first month of the war was "little short of wonderful." Since the report quoted, Russian railways have transported not only troops and munitions, but great quantities of industrial equipment and millions of refugees. The Soviet press gives many examples of the eagerness and ability of mechanics and other railway employees, who occasionally make valuable suggestions for simplifying and speeding up work.

Undoubtedly, it has been impossible, in fourteen years, to create a sufficiently large body of experienced technicians and enough thoroughly qualified workmen to meet all the needs of a country engaged in a tremendous industrialization and a war. Trained men on the rolls in government departments, commerce, industry, and the army, are doubtless still too young. Yet what the army has accomplished with young men is an example of what can be achieved with such material when there is enthusiasm and determination.





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# *Let Us Yield* our National Sovereignty

*by* David W. Petegorsky and J. D. Kingsley

ANY discussion of postwar reconstruction must base itself on the inescapable fact that, whether we will it or no, the national state as we have known it is in the throes of violent death. National governments as sovereign entities and political boundaries as meaningful realities will no longer be the all-important factors in international affairs that they have been for the past several centuries. In their stead, we shall witness the emergence of some form of regional or world order in which numerous boundary lines will cease to frustrate social purpose and in which the areas that can be organized for the satisfaction of needs will no longer be set by the limits or power of the national-state.

The nature of that new international order can safely be predicted in terms of alternatives. It may be one imposed on nations through sheer force. Tanks and armies may obliterate in their march—as they are already obliterating—traditional frontiers. Coercion may effectively abrogate national sovereignties. The resources whose exploitation such unification will render possible may be dedicated to the aggrandizement of one race or class or party. Or, we may achieve an international organization that will be forged through the free cooperation of peoples, in which common understanding and purpose will enable nations to transcend the boundary barriers and whose potentialities will be maximised for the equal and mutual welfare of all men. Briefly, we are entering a period of organized internationalism; the alternatives we confront are those of democratic world-organization or of fascist and totalitarian domination.

The forces that are making for that unification are precisely those, which, in an earlier age, impelled the birth of the modern nation-state—economic expansion and scientific and technological development. Internationalization has been emerging for years from the womb of the national-state system. It may be seen in the world-wide economic interdependence of nations, the inability of states singly to solve their fundamental problems, the decreasing significance of geographical boundaries, the increasing coordination and consolidation of large territorial blocs, the growth of a world perspective, and, to some degree, in the breakdown of traditional and inherited national loyalties. Its emergence is being hastened by the force of economic development and technological progress. The supreme struggle of our age, internationally, no less than nationally, is between those who are endeavoring to fashion a collectivism that will be democratic both in its purposes and methods and those who, for power or privilege or profit, seek to impose fascist totalitarianism on mankind. There is increasing recognition that traditional economic relationships gravely menace the preservation, let alone the extension, of democracy and thwart the achievement of the well-being that men rightfully claim. And there is the equally increasing realization that the political and economic relationships embodied in the national-state system are frustrating the aspiration of the vast masses of mankind to peace, security and an adequate share of the abundance that is the heritage science bequeaths to humanity.

To build a progressive world-order, it is therefore essential that the national-state system be democratically transformed. Only when nation-states are prepared to cede their claims to supreme and independent sovereignty can world government become a possible adventure through the creation of some supra-national authority. Yet, in virtually all of the discussion there has been an inadequate attempt realistically to examine the conditions under which we can hope for some limitation of national



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sovereignty. Mere iteration cannot effect social changes, and the principle of sovereignty will not crumble at our insistence, however eloquent. We must examine its nature; we must understand the purposes it has historically served; and we must recognize the forces we are likely to encounter in trying to abrogate it.

The nature of national sovereignty has been the subject of endless discussion by lawyers and academicians. In theory, the claim to sovereignty has implied the refusal of states to recognize any but self-imposed limitations on their national will or action; it has meant the claim to supreme and independent authority in all affairs that concerned the national-state. The implications of the principle of national sovereignty in international relations have been discussed for years and need no elaboration here.

But whatever sovereignty may have meant in theory, in practice it has always been a function of power and force. Only those nations could boast of real sovereignty which had the power—military, political, economic—to make and to enforce their decisions independently of the wills of other states. The national sovereignty of Luxembourg, for example, could at best be no more than a theoretical affair. In an interdependent world absolute sovereignty, even for the most powerful of nations, is but a legal fiction. Every state, without exception, is limited in its decisions by circumstances and developments largely beyond its control. But it is nonetheless clear that the actual degree of independent action any national-state enjoyed was directly related to the power it could command; and the impunity with which it could flout its international commitments was always measured by the force it could exert.

Actually, therefore, the exrcise of national sovereignty has always been in the use of force or the threat of force. The limitation of national sovereignty must therefore mean the limitation on the ability of all national-states to employ coercion in implementing their wills or to resist by force the enactment of common international decision and policy. That implies that the establishment of international government must be approached in terms of the purposes which the power of the national-state has been used to serve and the conditions under which that power has usually been invoked. Not until those purposes and conditions have been drastically transformed can there be any significant impairment of national sovereignty. We should like to suggest at this point the inadequacy of any attempt to consider the problem of international cooperation as primarily one of technical or institutional limitations on the exercise of force: disarmament, for example, or the outlawry of force by international treaty or the internationalization of military power.

For several years after World War I, there was a general belief that disarmament might prove a satisfactory technique for rendering future wars impossible. But the advocates of disarmament failed sufficiently to recognize the nature of the threat to democracy of fascism and dictatorship, the social and economic pressures within each state that acted as a compulsive to the use of force and that balked any attempt at a significant limitation of arms production. The proponents of disarmament, in their concentration on mechanisms, largely ignored basic causes and confused symptom with origin; and that confusion proved, as it was bound to prove, utterly fatal to their efforts. There could be no general voluntary agreement to restrict the volume of arms so long as the purposes for which arms had been used remained unchanged.

Equally important, the disarmament advocates failed to see that the scrapping of arms, in and of itself, could not provide a solution to the problem of international conflict. In modern society, military strength functions not primarily through the actual weapons a nation may at any given moment possess but through those it is capable of producing. And short of complete disindustrialization, such as the Nazis are attempting to impose on some of their conquered areas, there can be no effective method of reducing that industrial potential or of preventing its conversion to war production.

The argument for disarmament, too, took insufficient cognizance of the fact that in modern society military power has not been the only form of coercion that made the claim to sovereignty effective. Economic power, exclusive access to vital and strategic raw materials, control over important lanes of communication, the ability to regulate the movement of populations, the power to shape men's thoughts and hence their acts, have all been important sources of international friction and major weapons in the conflict of national interests. If military power were to be seriously limited or wholly eliminated, the importance of other techniques of conflict as instruments of



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national policy would be considerably enhanced. It is not particularly helpful to point out that supra-national control of raw materials or communications or immigration is absolutely essential to any sane international order, for that is to beg the basic question of how that control is to be democratically established and democratically administered.

We must give much more serious consideration to the proposal to limit the use of military force by individual states through the creation of an international army and air force. Though we may be reluctant to admit the prospect, organized force will have to be employed for a considerable period following the war. The restoration of order and of normal social processes in lands devastated by war and wracked by strife will require the supervision of armed forces. The immediate military problem of the postwar era, therefore, will not be that of disarmament but of the organization of the military force of the democratic powers. To that there can be no realistic alternative. Granted the necessity for the military domination of the democracies, we shall have to evolve some workable plan for the reduction of their armed forces and the transfer of military supremacy to international authority when the transition period will have ended. The technical problems presented by the organization of an international army and air force and the complications involved in a system of international inspection of arms are indeed formidable. But we cannot admit that they are insuperable. To fail to solve those problems is to doom mankind to permanent conflict and warfare. It should be emphasized, however, that in attempting to establish some form of international government the perfection of machinery for the international control of force, however vital a problem, cannot be our starting point. Such machinery is the result of international cooperation rather than its prelude. Disarmament in the years following the first World War remained a pious hope not because the technical problems were too formidable but because individual states refused to cooperate in disarming. Voluntary cooperation on the part of the major states will be no less necessary for effective international organization; and there is no adequate assurance that such cooperation will be forthcoming to-morrow any more than it was offered yesterday. If the democracies, when victorious, will prove powerful enough to impose disarmament on the rest of the world, there can be no certainty that they will then proceed voluntarily to liquidate their own military forces or to transfer their control to international authority. There will be important areas of conflict between the democratic countries such as markets and materials and immigration; and nations, jealous of their interests, may be reluctant to cede the means for their protection. In any regional or world federation, leadership will undoubtedly fall to a few major powers; and it is not impossible that these powers may attempt to secure dominant control of the international force in order to give effect to what they may consider to be their own particular and legitimate interests.

We note these possibilities not for the purpose of suggesting that the success of any scheme for the internationalization of force must necessarily be a doubtful affair. Quite the contrary. Unless such machinery is created there can be no hope of real international government, for states will once more be able to disregard with impunity their international obligations. But we do suggest that whatever machinery is devised can function only in the context and as a result of far vaster changes that alone can make international cooperation effective.

What we have been saying applies with equal force to the plans for federal union which, under the inspiration of Mr. Streit and others, have gained considerable currency in the past few years. We should make it clear that we have no quarrel with the principle of world federalism. Quite clearly, the political organization of the postwar world will have to take the form of regional federations linked by a central world authority. Nor are we concerned here to examine whether Federal Union has become a camouflage for a new form of Anglo-American imperialism or whether the qualifications it has set up for the admission of states to the union embody too inflexible an emphasis on formal political mechanisms rather than on the spirit and operative content of social institutions. We do not doubt either that the Federal Unionists are aware of the fact that successful international government demands radical economic reconstruction no less than political reorganization. But we do suggest that they are paying inadequate attention to the prior conditions that must be created if the political relationships they are urging are to be established, to the



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changes that will have to be effected if institutional forms are to be given progressive substance and purpose. The major problem in any consideration of political reconstruction must be that of effecting those changes rather than of concentrating on the creation of machinery and techniques. What are those changes?

Fundamentally, they involve the transformation of the social and economic structures of the various national-states. The functions sovereignty has usually served and the purposes to which state power has generally given effect have derived mainly from the economic relationships of modern society. It is impossible to analyze in brief compass any social phenomenon as complex as nationalism; its ability to evoke the profound allegiance of men and to exercise such unchallenged power over their minds and hearts and acts cannot be explained in terms of simple and direct causes. But it is nonetheless true that the history of modern nationalism is closely linked with the development of capitalism; and the context within which nationalism has been given its expression and crystallization has been set primarily by the nature of our economic order.

That order has been a system of inequality and privilege whose dynamic principles have been the production of goods for profit rather than for human need and the investment of capital accumulation in profitable enterprises. It created a system of social relationships in which the ability to shape public policy was largely the monopoly of those groups and classes who wielded supreme economic power. No doubt, those groups were continually and sincerely tending to equate their particular interests with the general well-being of society; and the ideological expression of that equation has dominated the thought and culture of western society. But, however interpreted, the interests and purposes of the dominant economic classes largely determined state policy and defined the ends of social institutions; and the interests and purposes of those classes were intimately bound up with the maintenance of the inequality and privilege of which they were the beneficiaries.

Most of the phenomena associated with modern nationalism have derived from the operations of the capitalist system. Capitalism demanded for its functioning a continuous supply of materials to feed its industrial machine, markets for the profitable disposal of its products and fields for the reinvestment of its capital accumulation. Increasing industrialization made it necessary for the modern state to search far beyond its own frontiers for vital raw materials. The inability of nations to distribute the goods they produced to their own populations forced them to find markets abroad to distribute their surpluses. As opportunities for profitable investment in domestic industries began to shrink, those opportunities had to be sought in foreign lands. Just as monopoly conferred a decisive advantage in the economic struggle within the national-state, exclusive access to markets and sources of supply and fields of investment became equally a condition of economic success in the international sphere. The state as the chief agent of international relations was thus harnessed to that conflict. Its power was enlisted to protect markets and sources of supply; investments and property abroad had to be safeguarded against seizure and discrimination; tariffs, currencies, immigration policies, became major weapons in that clash of national interests. Because success in international competition was vital to the dominance and security of the privileged classes, they were prepared ultimately to use the armed forces of the state to implement their purposes and to assure their victory. The inequality that was characteristic of the social order of national states was thus projected into international relationships where it emerged in anarchy and war. And the involvement of the state in that conflict made it possible to regard what was basically a competition for the economic supremacy of particular classes as a matter of national prestige and honor.

Nor were the political aspects of sovereignty less important than its economic functions to those who found in its use the key to the maintenance of their favored position. The failure of capitalist society to satisfy the hopes and aspirations of men produced in every state a growing volume of dissatisfaction; for the masses of people, educated by popular participation in the democratic process, began to demand a greater share of the abundance their efforts were creating. Because the satisfaction of those demands would have meant everywhere the serious modification of prevailing economic relationships, nation-states instead embarked on adventures abroad as a means of allaying discontent at home; imperialist ventures, war and aggression have all been inspired in no small measure by that necessity.



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The use of force by nation-states and their claim to unlimited sovereignty have therefore been intimately bound up with the maintenance of a particular set of economic institutions. Those who have dominated the affairs of nations have refused to cede to international authority any of the prerogatives of state sovereignty; for such limitation would inevitably have meant their inability to preserve the privileges they had come to expect as their legitimate due.

So bald and mechanical a summary does something less than justice to the fullness of the nationalist experience, for nationalism has meant much more than the pursuit of material advantage. It has inspired much that is richest and finest in our cultural heritage; and the millions who have sacrificed their lives in response to its call have been motivated by sentiments far more noble than the quest for profit. But the sentiment of nationality was enlisted to serve purposes that were inherent in the nature of our economic order. What in and of itself might have been a wholly creative and healthy force in human affairs was perverted by the force of capitalist development to become associated primarily with economic and military supremacy; and the most sordid adventures were disguised with the dangerous glamor of national prestige.

If, therefore, we seek to create a sane international order through the abrogation of state sovereignty, our first task must be the abolition of privilege and inequality in our social and economic relationships. We must transform our domestic economies so that general welfare rather than class interest becomes the dominant motif of social policy. A state which made need rather than profit the criterion for the distribution of its products would be able to dispose of most of its goods to its own citizens. There would therefore be no inner compulsion for it to engage in a feverish search for makets abroad. Equality and democracy on the home front would render it unnecessary for governments to resort to foreign adventure in order to satisfy discontent at home. A society that genuinely attempted to realize the maximum well-being for all of its members would not be geared to the endless chain of international competition, for the condition of that well-being would be international cooperation. Only when the inequalities of a class society which force and sovereignty were invoked to protect have largely been abolished can the effective operation of international government become a reasonable possibility.

That is not to say that progressive social change is an automatic assurance of the disappearance of the aggressive nationalism we have known. Harold Laski once remarked that a thoroughly democratic and equal society might exercise a far greater claim on the allegiance of men than any other state; and the fervent devotion such a state would inspire might manifest itself in a nationalism far more intense and dynamic than anything we have yet experienced. Even under the best of circumstances, the transformation of nationalism will be no simple affair; for it is deeply rooted in our collective consciousness and in our cultural and social heritage. To sacrifice wonted modes of thought and action, traditional prejudices and inherited loyalties has ever been man's most difficult task. But only when the basic ends of national policy have been transformed through progressive social change will it be possible for any machinery for international organization to function effectively.

The argument we have been making by no means involves any simplification of the problem of achieving international government. In fact, stating the problem in those terms may superficially seem to render the task more difficult. Men will profess their allegiance to the ideals of world organization who would regard radical social change in their own states as catastrophic. But it brings us, we venture to suggest, to the very heart of the question of national sovereignty. It suggests, too, that progressive action for international organization possesses an immediacy that is only too inadequately appreciated. If we are sufficiently aware of the fact that the prime condition of international cooperation is the transformation of our social and economic relationships, then we can—and must—act immediately towards that end. Progressive action for the extension of democracy here and now thus means not merely greater efficiency in the struggle against fascism and reaction. It constitutes, as well, a major step in the establishment of that world order without which permanent peace will remain an insubstantial dream and civilized existence one of humanity's lost hopes[1].

[1] For a fuller discussion of the problems treated in this chapter, see the authors' forthcoming book *"Strategy for Democracy"*. (Longmans Green, February.)



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# SOCIAL WAR

## A FEDERATION *of* CENTRAL EUROPE

*By Jan Stanczyk*

WE have learned at least one truth during the last terrible years—democracy cannot thrive without roots in a sound economic basis. If democracy is to be the foundation of the future world order, then it is impossible to return to the economic chaos, the mass unemployment and the misery and insecurity of the pre-war days. The millions of people who sacrifice their lives and who work ardently in order to win this war do not do it to re-establish the darkness of a past which has gone bankrupt. They look forward to a new world of social justice and security, to a world in which the working masses will be at last the masters of their own destiny. Only by giving them a clear vision of that world to come and by gaining their confidence in our intention of making it come true can we hope to win the war.

The task of the last Conference of the International Labor Organization in New York was to consider the post-war world and to plan for the social order



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after the war. In a resolution that I submitted to the Conference in the name of the Polish delegation it was stressed that if it is the purpose of the democracies to secure employment and well-being for the people we must first prepare a plan of international economic cooperation which would exclude savage competitive struggles for markets. The economic plan must consider as a whole the problem of production and of distribution of raw materials and of markets among nations as well as between economic systems. In this planned economy the problem of employment has to be solved in close connection with that of production and international financing of economic reconstruction.

At a time when, thanks to technical progress, nations are equipped with splendid industrial apparatus, capable of mass production of all necessary goods, when easy access to raw materials makes possible the plentiful production of food, we cannot endure having millions of people doomed to unemployment. We cannot accept the idle workshops and factories, the disastrous economic chaos which reigns throughout the world as a result of the restriction of markets.

The Polish delegation tried to apply these ideas to the particular situation in Central and East Europe. There are a hundred million people in that part of Europe, a tremendous potential power. The inhabitants of Central-Eastern Europe and of the Balkans have been exploited by German industry. In the future they must establish a united economic bloc—not a superficial political coalition without economic ground—which will make possible both the development of their own industry and economy and their participation in a system of international exchange of goods and services. Only by starting from that point will they be able to establish some stability in their area. The improvement in the living standards of the masses of peasants and workers, as a result of a genuine new economic order, will provide a solid foundation for democracy in that part of the world and abolish the economic hegemony and the consequent political domination of Germany which has been the constant source of disturbance and bloody wars. Such a federation will establish collaboration and good neighborliness with Soviet Russia. Of course, the active help of the United States and of England is a necessary prerequisite to the development and consolidating of the new system.

These were my ideas when I signed with the representatives of Czechoslovakia, Greece and Jugoslavia, a common declaration expressing the attitude of our nations on the problems of post-war reconstruction. We expressed our common feelings concerning the great problems to be faced at the end of the war, we reaffirmed our profound devotion to democratic principles, and we expressed the hope "that the end of this war . . . will save a hundred million inhabitants of Central Europe and the Balkans from their present state of wretchedness by assuring them stable employment, guaranteed by reconstruction and by the development of their industries, agriculture and merchant marine, and that those peoples will be included within the sphere of international exchanges of goods and services."

I consider this declaration as an important step toward the constitution of a strong, solid community in Central and Balkan Europe, a necessary condition of European order. The first step was the Czech-Polish declaration of November, 1940, signed by the two governments in exile, establishing cooperation between the two governments. The Polish and Czech representatives did a good job in preparing for the settlement of post-war problems in Central Europe.

Another step is the Polish-Russian pact of friendship and mutual assistance signed in Kuibyshew December 4. That declaration stresses the fact that lasting, just peace can be achieved only through a new organization of international relationships on the basis of unification of the democratic countries in a durable alliance. In connection with the Czecho-Russian treaty of friendship, it constitutes the basis of friendly and fraternal collaboration between the future Federation of Central Europe and Balkans, and the Soviet Russia.



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Presenting my plans and propositions to the Conference of I. L. O., I expressed not only the ideas of my government, but also—I am sure—of the Polish nation suffering under the incredible yoke of the Nazi invader, of the gallant Polish fighters in the army, in the airforce, and in the navy. I am in touch through secret channels with the Polish underground movement. We have received many scores of illegal papers printed in Poland, distributed largely among the Polish population.

The Polish underground fighters, those fighting in the cellars in the conspiracy against the German *New Order,* do not separate the fight for their national freedom from the fight for the freedom of other nations. The *Peoples' Tribune,* a publication of the Polish democratic underground movement, expressly states:

"Independent Poland is impossible unless France, Czechoslovakia, Belgium, Norway, Denmark, and Holland are also restored to independence."

Our heroic underground fighters have chosen as their slogan the words, "For our freedom and yours." This is an old Polish revoluntionary slogan from 1830. For them the two freedoms—yours and ours—are inseparable. They know that international solidarity is the only way to assure the development of all European nations.

That truth is not limited to Europe. The fate of this continent is connected for life and death with the fate of Europe. Freedom cannot survive in one country when the others are under the yoke of tyrants and hangmen.

# TRADE UNIONS *in* NORWAY

## *By Olav Hindahl*

NORWAY was for a long time an agricultural country. Only in the past thirty or forty years has it shown any industrial tendency worth noting. The merchant navy and the fishing fleet with farming formed the country's chief support.

Gradually as the wild waterfalls were tamed and the people learned that "borrowed coal"—electricity—was an excellent source of power one industry after another was started. Many chemical works, producing fertilizers, large aluminum works, factories for utilizing forest products in paper, woodpulp, etc., were established.

To the new industries which were built up in Norway came recruits from the land. It was no easy task for the lords of industry to educate these young farmers in the routine necessary to enable a factory to produce as much as possible. We did not have an industrial group in Norway trained through generations to the laws and discipline necessary for workers in industry.

Norway is one of the few countries in Europe which has always had a free farming community. Serfs have never been known in our country. At the last census, in 1930, it was found that workers in agriculture and forestry comprised 29.8%, while about 27.5% were industrial and manual workers. The Norwegian Trade Union Congress was founded in April, 1899. The oldest Trade Union Federation—printers—was organized in October, 1882, and the oldest trade union,



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also the printers, was started in July, 1872.

One question which has caused much interest within the Norwegian Trade Union movement is the international connection. At the beginning of the last World War, disappointment was very general because the International Trade Union was unable to stop the war. When the Russian people in 1917 revolted against the Czar the idea of labor cooperation caught on like wildfire in Norway. The political trade union movement greeted the Russian Revolution with pleasure and the Norwegian Trade Union joined up in the Moscow Internationale. But our people soon found out that they had made something of a mistake. Complete, unquestioning discipline and the decrees sent out from Moscow were too much for the Norwegian workers and after a period of three or four years membership, it was decided, after a tempestuous fight within the Political Trade Union to resign from the Moscow Internationale. For a short period there were three labor parties in Norway, but in 1927 the Social Democratic Labor Party and the Norwegian Labor Party combined and became one party, with good results in the autumn "Stortingsvalg"—general election—of that year. The Communist Party decreased steadily in numbers, so that during the past few years they have had no representative in the Government.

Political fights left their mark on the trade union movement, as trade unions and politics in Norway have always worked together. The various Trade Union Societies stood unitedly for the Labor Party, and the Trade Union's men played quite an important part within the Labor Party.

The Norwegian Trade Union Congress resigned from the Trade Union International in 1924—also called "The Amsterdam International" because it was reorganized in 1919. But it was never acknowledged by the Red Trade Union International. In 1936 the Trade Union Congress again joined up with the International Federation of Trade Unions. The Norwegian Trade Union Movement has been more radically minded than the brother movements in Scandinavia. There have therefore been more open conflicts in Norway than in most other countries. With reference to the results obtained, Norway was a pioneer in such innovations as a two weeks holiday with pay for nearly all Trade Union workers. As far as wages were concerned they were on the same level—and in some cases higher—than the general Scandinavian standard.

The Trade Unions had come a long way in the building up of the old Master Craftsmen Associations (Handverksforbund) to an Industrial Manufacturers Trade Union (Industriforbund), a process which has been equally important in other countries. In Norway there were thirty-four professional and industrial unions included in the Trade Union Congress, representing a great variety within the industrial, commercial and transport spheres.

Nothing of importance occurred in the country's economic and political life without the Trade Union Movement having a word to say in the matter. It had great power and influence in the nation, and it took this responsibility to the whole people with proper seriousness.

At the time of the invasion Norway was a country showing an even, strong, economic, social and cultural progressiveness. Installation of electricity throughout the country had been rapid. The road building program during the past few years was really imposing. Our social laws were frequently discussed and improved. We enjoyed good sickness and accident pension laws, which were supplemented recently by an Old Age Pension, and finally by Public Unemployment Benefit.

We were about to build up an independent economy and social order with an ever stronger social voice in government with effective cooperation of private and public initiative.

When the Government in March, 1935, was taken over by the Norwegian Labor Party, it had a pronounced effect on the Trade Unions. The Trade Unions' memberships were more than doubled within a period of three to four years and at the outbreak of the war had 352,000 members in a total population amounting only to about three million.

The Trade Union had hundreds of holiday hostels scattered all over the country. It carried on extensive educational activities. The Trade Union Congress had built a modern high school near Oslo. It also carried on its own banking business.

When the occupation came in April, 1940, there was naturally a good deal of confusion within the Trade Unions. However, at first it looked as if the Germans intended to let the Trade Unions work on in peace and quiet, to permit them to attend to their own special



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problems. The leaders who were left in Oslo after the occupation therefore tried to adapt themselves to the changing conditions. There are only a few Trade Union men—and none of the more important leaders—who have placed themselves at the disposal of the Germans. The responsible authorities have repeatedly made their positions clear regarding the alien rulers, but they wanted to save their organization and to avoid having to close down as long as possible.

It was to be expected that a whole new batch of problems would come to light, and the work had to be arranged to suit the changed conditions. A number of orders and instructions were introduced as for example, no payment of more than 500 kroner could be made except after obtaining permission from the Ministry of Social Welfare. All the same the Trade Union Congress continued to do its work within a narrowed field.

After September 25, 1940, when the new Kommisarische "Ministers" took over the "Government", the question was brought up whether the Trade Union Congress should be changed to something quite different. The Trade Union Movement was given a new management by the Germans, a new chairman and secretary, and told to show loyalty to the new regime.

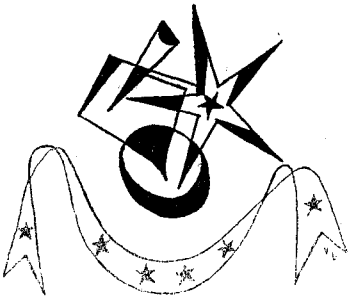
Through the radio and newspapers, information was sent out that the Trade Union Movement would be a part of the new National Social State which was being formed. The new leaders, however, did not represent the real feelings of the members and a large majority of the officers. A large number of the committee members in the Federation refused to sign the declaration of loyalty to the new leaders before they had received clearer information as to what would be the Trade Unions' future program.

A meeting was held by the Trade Unions Counsel after the new leaders had taken over, and at this meeting the steps that had been taken were vigorously criticised. And in the resolution which was adopted it was emphasized that the *Trade Union Movement's fundamental position was unchanged.*

The Nazified press raged over this resolution and furiously accused the leaders of attempting a balancing trick instead of definitely joining up with the new order. It asserted that irresponsible men stood behind the resolution.

In spite of pressure through imprisonment and dismissal of leading Trade Union members the Nazis were unable to change or Nazify the Trade Union Movement. The fact that the Germans have said that any increase in wages will not be tolerated and that the standard of living has already decreased by about 30% is one of the reasons for resistance to the new order. The Norwegian workers will not agree to a lowering to the standard of Middle-European basic wages.

In the middle of September the trouble came to a crisis. Large strikes broke out spontaneously in Oslo and other places. They were met by brutal repressions from the Germans. Several hundred trade union leaders were arrested and two were summarily executed. Later German reprisals continued with new arrests and executions. But the spirit of the Norwegian workers is not broken. The fight goes on, and the Trade Unionists are like all other Norwegian patriots, confident of the final victory.





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# NAZI MATHEMATICS

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# POLITICAL WAR

## FORCES *of* WORLD REBIRTH

*By Louis Dolivet*

THE most wonderful story of the war, one on which we have set all our hopes, is finally in the making. Solidarity among all the democratic forces of the world is approaching realization.

The nature of this war is coming home to us. We see it as a struggle, not among nations or continents, but as a battle of democratic and social ardor against the reactionary governments. We did not arrive at an awareness of democratic, anti-Fascist solidarity through a moral process of understanding. We had to live through the tragedies of Europe, Asia, Africa and Pearl Harbor in order to reach understanding. It came to us all through the sufferings of the nations involved; it came through our horror at shocking aggression. But it came, and that is the important fact.

●

Already the Japanese attack on the United States and the splendid Russian counter-offensive have produced repercussions not only affecting the outcome of the war but also the prospect of future world organization. They are as follows:

1. All America is unanimously supporting the war effort of the anti-aggression nations, with the powerful American labor movement completely united on this point.
2. The peoples of the whole American continent have demonstrated their solidarity with the United States and the fighting countries, and many Latin American governments have declared war against the Axis powers.
3. China has spontaneously declared war against the three Axis powers, thus nullifying every hope of a fatal maneuver in the Far East against the democracies.
4. In all the fighting countries and particularly in England the courage and the hope of the people have been immensely lifted.
5. In India Nehru and other leaders are discerning through the fog of their problem with England that this is a war in which they can take a whole-hearted part.
6. Sweden, Turkey, and other nations are showing symptoms of resistance against German demands.
7. In Germany, and even more in Italy, signs of unrest and anxiety are visible. Even, if, as Mr. Churchill said, they do not allow us to hope for a German collapse, they at least permit us to envisage certain measures designed to weaken the Hitler clique.
8. To the occupied countries of Europe (where 250 million people are waiting for the moment when they can transform sporadic resistance into combined war effort with the Allies) the entry of the United States into the war has made the deepest impression, opening up a wide field for political campaigning.
9. Finally, the coordination of the Allied war effort becomes a reality. The three conferences in Washington, Chungking, and Moscow will go down as great events in history. How insignificant the conference at the Brenner Pass between



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the dictators seems compared to the conferences between Roosevelt, Churchill, and 16 Allied governments; between Chiang Kai-Shek and Generals Wavell and Brett; between Stalin and Eden!

Those meetings have brought to the fore the problem of political war on which we have been insisting since our first issue—not as the sole method of the democracies but as the necessary complement of military and industrial war.

What does democratic political war mean? To me it means the mobilization of public opinion in the fighting countries for supreme sacrifice in production as well as in battle. The old patriotic appeal, though still powerful, is insufficient. The strongest argument lies in giving a vision of a democratic world to the people—not only to every nation but to every individual, tangible proof of benefit, of a democratic order, complete freedom, social well-being, and peace.

The difference between mobilizing public opinion in the Axis countries and in the democracies must be as much one of method as of matter. Under a dictatorship every variety of terror—moral, psychological, physical and economic—drives the citizen to do his utmost. With all of us democracies, the use of violence is equally undesirable and impossible. Consent—enlightened discipline—never terrorism, is the essence of the democratic method.

Here are some points to consider in creating passionate support among democratic citizens for giving their utmost to the fight:

Love for country and desire to resist the invader.

Hatred of the enemy for its cruelties, for its leaders.

Consciousness that all citizens are participating equally in the sacrifices of war.

Certainity that when the war is won there will come a better world and that everyone who fought in whatever capacity will be proud that he participates in the victory.

It is only when all these elements are fused that publice opinion in a democratic country can really be mobilized fully. The democratic countries are now fulfilling the condition. No one questions the love of their people for their countries or their will to resist a foreign aggressor. Their hatred for the enemy may need some spur through knowledge. Every citizen of a free country, knowing the cruelties committed by the Axis Powers and particularly by Hitler Germany, will fight better. The physical cruelties, so great that no atrocity story of the past matches them; the perversion of German youth—their systematic education for torturing their fellow human beings physically and morally; the lie hailed as an essential part in a system of state—all this must be made clear to the average citizen of every free country.

This hatred of evil must be balanced by the vision of the better world to come. In the free countries it is evident that sacrifices are more and more shared by the whole population. England and Russia gave us splendid examples.

In the occupied countries, political activity organized by the Allies with the cooperation of different organizations and leaders representing the best traditions of their respective countries can be of enormous importance. It will make "collaboration" with the Axis impossible; from an economic point of view by diminishing production for the Axis; and from a military point of view through sabotage and active opposition by giving information to the Allies. Resistance in the occupied countries will have another immediate effect of importance. The Axis divisions immobilized for police duty in Europe, China, Indo-China, or other parts of the world cannot be used for instant military action against England, the U.S.S.R., the U.S.A., or China. The livelier resistance grows, the more divisions will have to be diverted from military action to policing, and the greater will be the anxiety of the occupying armies.

The most cogent argument for anti-Axis revolt all over the world and especially in Europe is seen in the decisive help such a turn would render the Allied armies. Organization of such revolution is a military and political problem. It is up to the military leaders to utilize the innumerable elements inside and outside the occupied countries—to provide them with necessary instructions and help for military action against the Axis. Tens of millions of men and women are ready to die in order to free their enslaved countries and to save democracy all over the world. The same readiness for sacrifice which characterizes the United States, the British Empire, Soviet Russia and China exists all over the world. No one can believe that 150 years of struggle for freedom in Europe are wasted, that the spirit of the French Revolution has disappeared, or that the memorable martyrs of independence



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are forgetten in Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, Greece, or Poland.

The ideals for which the Allies are fighting are world-wide ideals. They belong to every nation, and every nation can be brought back into the fight for their triumph. The leaders of the Allied armies can appeal to 90% of the inhabitants of the occupied countries as they appeal to the inhabitants of the free countries. The answer, in spite of the terrific difficulties, will be the same loyalty to the cause of freedom.

The political campaign must be organized by political leaders of the United States, China, Russia, and England because they are well-known in Europe, where there is tremendous admiration for them. This war has swept away many physical, political, and ideological boundaries. It has swept away distrust among the democracies. When President Roosevelt speaks, it is an event for all Europe. Everyone who lived in Europe after the French defeat knows how much his speeches and Mr. Churchill's have influenced and strengthened the movement of resistance. It is no longer a problem of Frenchmen speaking to Frenchmen or Belgians speaking to Belgians—it is a matter of democrats speaking to democrats. There is no doubt that a sort of March of Time of the speeches of the leaders of the anti-Axis countries, translated into all the languages of the world, would make an immense impression in Europe because they would reach democrats as well as socialists and, where they are important, communists. The leaders in exile and innumerable private organizations have a major function in coordinating the system of Allied propaganda and Allied education of public opinion. If all the political forces of the fighting countries and the representatives of the enslaved countries are coordinated, a new and powerful instrument will be put into the hands of the democracies.

The first condition of political war is the coordination of all forces. A united program for the democracies is the second. The anti-Axis program of the democracies should be self-sufficient. The war against the greatest criminals in history, against men who are already responsible for 15 million casualties, the war for the safety and independence of so many free countries, for the establishment of world democracy, should and now does move every human being among us. It was the lack of education concerning world affairs that was responsible for the fact that so many people saw the danger too late and only when their own countries were involved. The confusion created by the Axis all over the world needs an answer, a clarification, which must be not only anti-Axis but *positively democratic.* If the Axis had not achieved such swift success, if it had not occupied Europe, if the Japanese had not through treachery obtained initial advantage perhaps the war could go on without a definite constructive program. But the situation is such that it must be complemented by political planning, and for this a program is necessary.

The first step—the Atlantic Charter—was taken by the leaders of the democracies. Since the Atlantic Charter has laid down what we all believe to be the fundamental principles of a democratic program, it is up to organizations of public opinion, study groups, economic organizations, and labor unions to study intensively the popular aspirations.

The Axis bases its propaganda for a new order on a United States of Europe program and, in the Far East, on a co-prosperity sphere. It is interesting to observe how shrewdly the propaganda chiefs of Germany and Japan have estimated the deep aspirations of those peoples they seek to dominate. For our part, we must eradicate all doubt in the minds of the peoples of Europe about the determination of the United States, Great Britain and the other democracies to eliminate the old organization of European states, dictatorship, boundaries and customs barriers, unemployment, insecurity, misery, national chauvinism, and minority persecution. Every point which is left in doubt is used by the German propagandists to give the impression that if the oppressed people struggle against the Axis they fight only for the status quo and not for the long wanted freedom of the European continent.

The situation is similar in the Far East, where the Japanese have tried during the last year especially to develop support for their policy by promising Asiatic Union. They found in Wang Ching-Wei, head of the Japanese-sponsored puppet government in Nanking, a man who would have become dangerous if Chiang Kai-Shek and the National Government of China had not opposed a brilliant countermove by proclaiming a belief, even when the Burma Road was closed, in an eventual alliance among all the democracies. The genius of the political strategy of the Chinese government consisted precisely in this vision



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of an alliance among the democracies, even when many people ridiculed the possibility. Education of public opinion behind the Japanese lines, in free China, on the front, in the factories, in the industrial cooperatives made it plain that China fights not only for her own independence but for world democracy. No wonder China commands sympathy and admiration all over the world today! Her method should serve as an example for a concrete democratic program in Europe.

The modification of the third point of the Atlantic Charter in the recent statement of Mr. Roosevelt and Mr. Churchill gives confidence a further lift. Their assurance that independence of all European nations will be qualified by some limitation of sovereignty in the interest of the common good is a historical event of prime importance. It opens the way to definite, concrete steps toward setting up world democratic machinery. Such a world organization could never be maintained under the old scheme of absolute national sovereignty, which means the possibility of dictatorship, chauvinistic nationalism, autarchy and union of the elements of fascism. The Roosevelt-Churchill statement throws open the doors to discussion of basic plans for a democratic world—discussion which will be carried on in forthcoming issues of FREE WORLD.

# A WEAK POINT *in* THE ATLANTIC CHARTER

## *By Henry Laugier*

THE eight points of the Atlantic Charter were welcomed by the world with calm hope; and the peoples of the coalition for liberty gave them immediate support based above all on the unanimous confidence which they justly placed in their eminent chiefs, Winston Churchill and F. D. Roosevelt.

Did these eight points create a psychological, dynamic shock capable of winning over the minds and hearts of the fighters in the free countries, and capable of creating disorder and anxiety among the totalitarian fascists? Let us hope so; it is uncertain.

In the countries where thought and its expression have remained free these eight points must be submitted to close examination, both critical and constructive. Without doubt they constitute the charter of the future. Now we should examine what is already contained in the Wilsonian ideology, the part of that ideology which has been dropped, and why, and that which is new. And we should analyze the modifications introduced, or the new conceptions, and see how they have been improved in the light of the unhappy experience of a League of Nations which should have united world opinion against the aggressor and thus assured collective security.

No doubt others will do this important and useful work. With "the freedom of a soldier who is poor at varnishing the truth," I shall say today only that one of the points of the Atlantic Charter, the third, has brought to the defenders of free institutions, if not a genuine disappointment, at least great uneasiness.

The first part of point three is given thus:

> *"The United States and Great Britain respect the right of all people to choose the form of government under which they will live."*

This principle was clearly included in the Wilsonian ideology. It is therefore not new.



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It may be affirmed that it was applied with the greatest constancy in the course of the post-war period by the victors of 1918. True they applied it from weakness, indifference, political short-sightedness, and hesitation before the risks that would have been entailed by active intervention in the domestic politics of neighboring countries far more than from genuine devotion to the cause of "the peoples' right to self-determination." But they applied it with perseverance.

They let Italy adopt a fascist regime; they let Germany adopt a nazi regime, totalitarian, dictatorial, and conquering. They let Germany and Italy impose upon Spain, against the will of the people, a purely Fascist regime. And it is the full application of this attitude towards the domestic affairs of nations that created all the real possibilities for war today. The risks that would have accompanied the imposition of peremptory vetoes blocking access to power of the authoritarian, bellicose, conquering regimes which were tending toward hegemony are ludicrous compared to those faced today by the combatant democracies. The democracies were then strong, and the totalitarian nations, then emerging, were powerless.

In London, Paris, Geneva, in the corridors or offices of the Quai d'Orsay or the League of Nations Palace, how many times have I not heard representatives of democratic countries oppose any recourse to force, any economic pressure, any energetic propaganda against the totalitarian regimes, against their ideology, and against their methods. How many times have I not heard the terms bellicose, dangerous agitators, employed of those who wished action to be used immediately against action, who declared for energetic steps against the dictator regime! . . .

This paralysis of the democracies was supported by slogans whose disastrous character was then apparent to a few, and today has become evident to all eyes—slogans found in the most authoritative speeches of highly responsible men. . . .

*We shall never start a preventive war,* is one. Meanwhile war had already been prepared, organized, and started in a thousand ways, using the immense means at the disposal of totalitarian economy in peace time: financial pressure, spying, and propaganda in all countries of the world. . . .

*We shall not carry on an ideologic crusade,* is another. It does not concern us if the Italians are satisfied with a fascist regime denying all freedom and all spiritual values. It does not concern us if Germans wish to march in goosestep behind a Fuehrer, master of their bodies and minds. No ideologic crusade, they said, and meanwhile the enemy, using tremendous sums and diabolical skill unchained a furious crusade against the spirit of liberty, against popular rule, against the equality of men and races, against all respect for the dignity of the human individual.

*A day won for peace is never won in vain,* is another. Just more words, so often heard, whose tragic vanity events have sufficiently demonstrated.

All the formulas of the democracies, which at bottom were inspired by a spirit of concession, of temporisation, and in reality of relinquishment, could in those days take cover under the noble Wilsonian ideology of the right of peoples to choose their own political regimes; tomorrow, alas, they may refer us to the third point of the Atlantic Charter.

This state of mind the leaders had spread to the most distant and humble representatives of their diplomacy.

In all the world's capitals there was a Nazi ambassador, in all the big towns there was a Nazi consul. These ambassadors and consuls were often, in the strictest legal sense of the term, simple malefactors or veritable gangsters, and generally courageous, forceful individuals with a taste for adventure and peril; they had varied means at their disposal and used them all, honest, dishonest, or criminal, thinking in their hearts: *"The world will be nazified. My mission is to use every possible method to attain that goal."*

Opposite them in all the world's capitals, and all the big towns, were found ambassadors and consuls of the democratic nations. Generally they were charming men, upright in the fullest sense of the term, sometimes distinguished and cultivated, familiar with Montaigne and Anatole France, with Shelley and Browning, who entertained with grace but who were timid in facing action, hesitant to face the least risk. They backed away in holy horror from propaganda, and said in their hearts: "Assuredly democracy is mild and agreeable; but why try to impose it on others. Moreover it has many defects. Let us guard against any militant intervention in the domestic politics of our hosts! Let us respect the sacred right of peoples to choose for



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themselves their political regimes in full liberty."

It was in this way that the hard battle for peace was conducted between the communists, the fascists, and the representatives of the democracies. And it is from all this that war came.

And will it all start over again?

No, esteemed President Roosevelt, admirable Winston Churchill, heroic chiefs of free peoples,—it is not possible.

The victorious democracies—for win they shall—cannot return to that harmful indifference regarding the domestic regime of other nations, an indifference hidden under the apparent nobility of an ideology of liberty! In the situation in which science, destroying time and space, places them, the nations of the world are beings of flesh and blood as mutually dependent as the citizens of a town, as solidly bound together as the stars of the peremptory vetoes blocking access to power of Star Spangled Banner. In the name of individual liberty does one permit the building of an explosives factory, a fortified stronghold, a poison-gas reservoir in the centre of the city? Is a single star of the Star Spangled Banner allowed to adopt for itself a regime of fascist structure with a bellicose, conquering ideology?

No, of course not. And so, after victory, shall some nations be allowed to adopt regimes whose natural course is to end in a blood-bath and to precipitate humanity into a catastrophe which will arrest or retard for years, and perhaps centuries, its march towards justice and the goal of common welfare?

No, President Roosevelt, Winston Churchill, when the heroic sacrifices of the children of your great nations, when the efforts and privations of your peoples will have assured victory to the nations with free institutions, these nations will have strength, power over the world's future. You yourselves will then have the heaviest, but also the highest and noblest, responsibilities that men have shouldered throughout history. When peace comes all the immense power of your victorious nations must be used for some time in the countries you liberate or have conquered to establish free institutions founded on popular sovereignty. In the years that will follow peace, during their convalescence you must help the enfranchised people through an apprenticeship to liberty. In that long period all the economic, financial, military, aerial, and naval power of the victorious nations must support governments founded on respect for the individual, on freedom of conscience, on the people's sovereignty, on the right of all to joyful free work. They must be helped in their first flight, during their growth, and in their difficulties and crises.

Do all within your power to make the world you control democratic. To be sure, we know that the democratic regimes have great defects. Journals published in the interests of fascist oppression would have revealed them to us had we not seen them ourselves. But what are the scandals of democratic nations, exposed noisily by a free press, brought into the open, compared to the noisome, putrid scandals in the totalitarian regimes? Even with their weaknesses, less than some believe, but certain and known to us, the democratic regimes have two preponderant virtues.

The first is that their free structure and mechanics contain within themselves all the potentialities for recovery, internal reform, and gradual improvement, provided men are animated by civic ideals. And it is the pilots' mission to steer the peoples in their efforts toward a true democracy.

The second is that sovereignty resides in the people, who have a horror of aggression and are resolutely pacific. Keeping the peace is the first requirement for all human progress.

President Roosevelt, Winston Churchill, towards you flows all the devotion of the free peoples engaged in the struggle; towards you are outstretched all the hopes of those who sacrifice themselves, and all the thoughts of the unfortunate, unhappy slaves who groan under oppression. Found the peace on free institutions. Assure the future of the world by an association of governments ruled by the popular will. The failure of democracy was talked of most stupidly when France, the first democracy attacked by all the Nazi power, had to bend the knee. Who shall dare speak of the failure of democracy when America and England, free united peoples, have won and have rid Europe of the indecent beast that dishonors humanity?

In all the countries that you restore or control, build eager dynamic democracies. In the hour of peace be the crusaders of democracy, as you are in the war. Impose liberty on the world. That is what the world awaits from the victory of your noble countries.



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# LOSSES

## *in*

# MAN POWER AND MONEY

### *First in a Series of Studies of Destruction, Production and Possibilities of Exchanging Products Internationally*

NO one can state precisely how much has been lost in property and human life during the ten years of aggression since the Japanese attack on Manchuria. From the figures, not of course complete, available today one gets such an impression of horrible waste that one can not read them without resolving to do the utmost to put an end forever to the Axis principles.

Contemplating those figures one is moved to think of the problems of future world organization. The destruction suffered by any nation under present conditions of independent sovereignty — every nation for itself—is unbelievably more tremendous than the amount that would be required from each member of a world union. Those contributions would be as nothing compared to the present frightful expenditures. Six million dollars a year was the modest budget of the League of Nations, with fifty governments represented. A budget of six billion—a small amount compared to losses to date—would give a new democratic federation a start toward the education of people everywhere in the meaning of democracy and in world economics looking toward the prevention of war.

From time to time, as they are available, we shall publish further data along these lines. These studies will include an analysis of national production all over the world with a view to consideration of exchanges of products. We suggest that these studies be preserved by our readers for use in their own discussions of winning the war and making the peace.

Concrete figures are good weapons in discussion since they are the basis for constructive thought about the future.

**LOSS IN MAN POWER**

***End October 1941***

**(U.S.S.R., China, U.S.A. and Japan not included)**

| | |
|---|---|
| **Belgium** | **292,083** |
| **Bohemia-Moravia** | **375,440** |
| **Bulgaria** | **150,000** |
| **Denmark** | **25,000** |
| **France** | **4,100,800** |
| **Germany** | **3,485,000** |
| **Great Britain** | **229,215** |
| **Hungary** | **150,000** |
| **Italy** | **676,200** |
| **Luxembourg** | **5,800** |
| **Netherlands** | **433,700** |
| **Norway** | **237,000** |
| **Poland** | **3,378,450** |
| **Rumania** | **211,000** |
| **Slovakia** | **100,000** |
| **Yugoslavia** | **658,700** |
| **Total** | **14,508,388*** |

***This includes killed, wounded, missing, imprisoned, forced labor in Germany and emigrants from the various countries because of persecutions or war conditions.**



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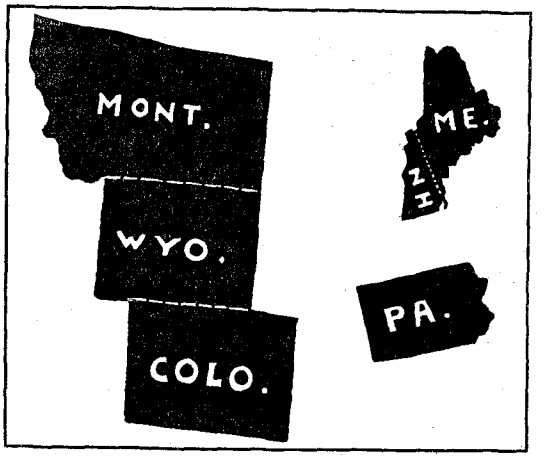
# *The Total Loss in Man Power (Casualties, Forced Labor, etc.)*

# in

# HITLER'S WAR—

THE 14 million loss in man power as a result of the Hitler war destroys the most productive section of the European population—that between the ages of 20 and 45. If the same number of Americans in that age group were to suffer a similar fate, it would result in loss to our country of 25% of our population between the ages of 20 and 45, or almost 40% of our entire working population in that age group would be destroyed.

If that number of our productive population were destroyed, it might mean that 14 of our major industries would be wiped out—13 million workers are employed in all the industries connected with automobiles, electrical machines, rayon manufacturing, gasoline and oil, rubber tires, radios, aircraft, tin manufacturing, aluminum manufacturing, lighting equipment, typewriters, etc.




**If the entire population of Pennsylvania, Colorado, Maine, Montana, New Hampshire, and Wyoming were wiped out the total loss in men would be less than that thus far in the Hitler war.**

The number of casualties in this war exceeds the entire population of Belgium and Denmark.

## *Four and a Half Million Slaves in Germany*

BY the summer of 1941, the number of foreigners working in the Reich ranged between 2,700,000 and 3,000,000 men. This figure excludes an unknown number of highly skilled Czech laborers and war prisoners who do not work full time. T. Reveille in the New Republic of August 11, 1941, adds to this number of war prisoners another 1,100,000 who had been working in Germany before the war as well as 320,000 Italians who were transferred to Germany for forced labor. The total is therefore close to four and a half million.

If this war cost were available to the people of the United States, it might accomplish the results shown in center panel on opposite page.

This sum would enable every person in the United States, man, woman, and child, to buy an automobile costing more than $1,100.

In 1939, the Government of the United States spent about $205,000,000 on public highways. With the money



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## COST IN DOLLARS

(U.S.A., U.S.S.R., China and Japan not included)

| | |
|---|---|
| Austria . . . . | $85,000,000 |
| Bohemia-Moravia . | 2,121,000,000 |
| Belgium . . . | 736,096,000 |
| Denmark . . | 670,000,000 |
| France . . . . | 4,210,115,370 |
| Germany . . | 78,560,000,000 |
| Great Britain | 52,379,000,000 |
| Netherlands | 1,986,000,000 |
| Norway . . . . | 601,325,000 |
| Poland . . . . | 4,100,000,000 |
| Total . . . | $145,448,536,370 |
| U.S. National Defense . | 28,000,000,000* |
| **Grand Total** . | **$173,948,536,370** |

*Budgetary estimates and appropriations from June 1940 to March 1941 without the latest figures and changes since August, 1941.

spent on Hitlerism the Government could expand its program 750 times.

That sum would pay all the costs for our national public school education for more than 60 years. (We spend about two and a half billion dollars each year for education.)

That sum would buy all the food consumed in the United States for eight years. (We spend about 27% of our national income on food.)

It would keep our entire population clothed for almost 20 years. (We spend about seven and a half billion dollars on clothing each year.)

**There are approximately 30,000,000 families in the U. S., and an estimated 1,000,000 single individuals. With the money spent on Hitlerism, each of these 30 million families could buy a home for $5,000, and each single person could buy a home for $1,500.**

It would take care of the medical care, recreation, tobacco, reading, cosmetics, personal care, transportation (other than by car), etc. for the entire population for almost 20 years.

It would pay the salaries of every employed person in the United States for three and a half years.

It would take more than five times the total resources of all the national banks in the United States to pay the costs of Hitler's war.

That sum would pay two and a half times the cost of all the farms in the United States, together with their buildings, livestock, implements and machinery. (About $60,000,000,000 is their present valuation.)

Every individual in the United States could be insured for one year at the rate of $4,500 each, if the war costs were used for that purpose.

In January 1941, the Norwegian city of Trondheim was fined 60,000 crowns (13,000 dollars) for merely "showing hostility to German troops." In the same month, The Hague had to pay a fine of 60,000 guilders (30,000 dollars) because damage had been inflicted on three German army cars left standing in the streets of that city. The City of Paris was fined 20 million frs. (400,000 dollars) because someone replaced the swastika flag on one of the hotels with the Union Jack. Orleans had to pay at the rate of 1 million francs (20,000 dollars) on each of the three successive occasions when telephone wires were mysteriously cut. Similar occurrences in April, 1941 in Norway where collective fines amounting to 500,000 crowns (115,000 dollars) had to be paid.



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# Cost of Hitlerism to Great Britain

## ECONOMIC

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1. Value of "immovable property" (excluding site value) destroyed during the year ending August 31, 1941.* | | |
| Analysis based on "Rates and Ratable Values in 1938-39" issued by the Ministry of Health: | | |
| Greater London | $3,500,000,000 | |
| County Boroughs | 10,000,000,000 | |
| Non-County Boroughs and Urban and Rural Districts | 16,500,000,000 | |
| TOTAL | | $30,000,000,000 |
| 2. British war expenditure for total armed forces (in million dollars): | | |
| 1935-36 net expenditure | 685.0 | |
| 1936-37 net expenditure | 930.0 | |
| 1937-38 exchange issues | 1,313.5 | |
| 1938-39 exchange issues | 1,910.0 | |
| 1939-40 exchange issues | 3,340.5 | |
| TOTAL | | $8,179,000,000 |
| In June, 1941, Sir Kingsley Wood stated that the expenditure was running at the rate of $60,000,000 a day. The rate of expenditure was nearly one-third higher than during the year before, but was still below the average of 66.5 million dollars a day for January to March, 1941. Therefore, from January to October, 1941, the war expenditure must have been | | $14,200,000,000 |
| GRAND TOTAL | | $52,379,000,000 |
| 3. British shipping losses in gross tons from September, 1939, to May, 1941 | | 3,815,500 gross tons |

*Computed on exchange rate—1 equals $5.

## LOSS IN MAN POWER

| | |
|---|---|
| 1. Hanson Baldwin estimated that from September 1939 to July 1940 the civilian and military casualties were | 90,000 |
| 2. Number of civilian casualties in air raids since mass raiding began in September 1940 (killed, 39,678; injured and detained in hospitals, 50,537) | 90,215 |
| 3. Eden informed House of Commons that Axis forces captured about 44,000 British soldiers, sailors and airmen in fourteen months of war | 44,000 |
| 4. Following the British evacuation of their troops from Greece, Germans claimed they held 5,000 British prisoners | 5,000 |
| TOTAL | 229,215* |

*Does not claim to be complete—computed only on basis of available figures.



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# THE DUTY OF THE AMERICAS

*By*
*GABRIEL*
*GONZALEZ*
*VIDELA*

HAVING lived in Europe from the outbreak of the war and having witnessed the terrible occurrences of the last two years, I feel that I am qualified to say that a democratic victory is what the great majority of the people are longing for. As for myself, I am confident of such a victory, but the democracies must realize that they have an enormous, hard fight on their hands and that they must counteract nazism wherever the Nazis are active.

It is quite natural, especially since the entrance of the United States into the war, that public attention should be concentrated on the military side of the struggle. Ever since the beginning, the war has been thought of mainly in terms of motorized divisions, the fabulous number of airplanes and tanks engaged all making the greatest battles of history look like skirmishes by comparison.

Less attention has been given to the political aspect of the war, in which the Nazis have displayed great skill, and which the democracies have yet to meet. I know from my recent years in Europe that the political war naturally must impress me more strongly in its implications than it has those who live several thousand miles away.

The people of Europe, who know now the horror of living under the Nazis, are ready to do everything in their power to help achieve a democratic victory. They look to us, to the Americas. In the past it has been hard for them to understand why the Americas did not come to their aid and give them encouragement in their effort to break the chains of the Nazi occupation. They preserved their hope in the Americas, but it was mixed with an undercurrent of bitterness. They felt that the New World had not done what it could to help them in their struggle against Hitler.

Now, just since I have been here, the situation has changed. They know now that the United States is in the war and ready to shed her blood as the Europeans have done, with the outlook of sacrificing much for the purpose of winning this war. A part of the past disappointment is surely already gone. However, they are so sure that they can play an important role in defeating Hitler that they would not understand if the New World, while devoting every other effort to the battle of the Americas, would omit support of the people in the occupied countries who are fighting against the Nazis.

It is necessary to put oneself in the position of the people who struggle daily in the occupied countries, if one wishes to understand them. Their heroism is so extraordinary that it keeps us, at least for the present, from looking back on the responsibilities for the tragedy that has overtaken them.



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There are men and women raised through sorrow and oppression to the noblest qualities of mankind. What they live for is to be free again. They expect help from those who are still free. It is that feeling about which I could tell many heart-breaking and inspiring stories, which makes the moral responsibility of the democracies, especially the Americas, so great. In order to win the war they must win the support of the occupied countries in Europe.

In regard to Latin America, I have a firm faith in her democratic feelings. The vast majority, from Buenos Aires to Mexico, desire the victory of the democracies and the defeat of Hitler. They are anxious to show their solidarity not only through formal or official engagements, but by throwing into the balance the entire democratic beliefs of Latin America. To maintain a consistent democratic policy it is necessary for democracy to prevail everywhere in the New World. Let us have no illusions; democracies and nazi regimes cannot coexist as neighbors. If peace is indivisible as was said before 1939, democracy is also indivisible. Any break in the democratic front in the Western Hemisphere threatens all the Americas.

Persistent democratic action is essential to meet the constant activities of the Nazis in Latin America. I felt so happy upon my return from France to hear of the Free World Movement and its success in the Latin American republics. When I saw the first issue of FREE WORLD and read the message of the Secretary of State, whose name is so respected all over Latin America, I, just landed from Europe, felt that the experiences I had gone through and the heroism I had witnessed in these last two years gave me a right to subscribe to the encouraging words of Mr. Cordell Hull: "there will come a better day."

★

WITH Hugo Fernandez Artucio leading the discussion, a Round Table was held recently at the offices of FREE WORLD with prominent Latin Americans, residing or visiting in the United States, taking part. Among them were ministers of State, members of Parliament, diplomats, professors and other leading figures.

Complying with the request of these men, FREE WORLD decided not to publish the Round Table discussion this month. Important subjects were thoroughly and frankly discussed, and it was thought undesirable to publish certain opinions which might embarrass the action of the Government here in view of the forthcoming conference at Rio de Janeiro.

However, the following resolutions were adopted and we are pleased to publish them as an expression of solidarity with the United States at this grave hour of struggle against Japan, Italy and Germany:

*"All the Latin American countries should extend to the United States their most complete support without limitation, even to the extent of joining the United States in a declaration of war against Japan, Italy, and Germany.*

*"In every Latin American country the policy of continental security should find the wholehearted support of all the people regardless of political, religious and social differences."*



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# THE ALASKA PLAN

*By X. X. X.*

ONE of the German plans for an invasion of the United States is based on the "Alaska Plan," worked out to the minutest detail by German military experts after the period of the Weimar Republic. Since Hitler's accession to power work on this plan and steps preparatory to carrying it out have been pushed.

It began with military collaboration between Germany and the Soviet Union during the Republican era under General von Seeckt. He concluded a secret agreement with the Soviet Government. The purpose of this treaty was twofold.

In the first place, the German Reichswehr wanted to circumvent the terms of the Versailles Treaty, and to train German troops in the use of prohibited weapons, especially planes, tanks and poison gas. Germany built numerous aircraft, tank and poison gas factories in the Soviet Union. These plants were erected in three areas: around Moscow, near Sverdlovsk east of the Urals, and on the Pacific coast. The young Red Army reaped a rich harvest. It got some of the most up-to-date arms plants in the world, managed by experts, German engineers and chemists. Naturally it received the lion's share of the arms and ammunition produced in these plans and what was even more important, it benefited from the presence of German military instructors assigned to train Red Army officers and men.

The second purpose of the treaty was to place Germany in a position where it could make military preparations which would benefit not only Russia but eventually itself. Over and above these considerations, the agreement opened up the vast spaces of the Soviet Union to German espionage as few other countries have ever been exposed.

The most noteworthy military fortifications created during this period of Russo-German collaboration are those in Kamchatka, on the outlying Komandorsky Islands, and in the maritime provinces of Siberia, especially the one which abuts on Alaska.

From the northwesternmost point of Alaska, Cape Prince of Wales, one can easily discern the Asiatic mainland, Siberia's East Cape. The two points are separated by the Bering Strait, only forty-seven miles wide. But the distance from the United States to the Soviet Union is still less—no more than half an hour's walk. Straddling the Bering Strait lie the two Diomede Islands—small but of great strategic importance. Big Diomede, the larger one, is Soviet territory; Little Diomede, the smaller one, is an American possession. The distance between them is two miles. A line running between these two islands divides Asia from America. For five or six months each year the Bering Strait between the two islands is frozen, and the inhabitants of the Diomedes have long been in the habit of walking across the ice from America to Asia. Centuries before Columbus, Eskimos from Siberia and Alaska traveled along the coasts of Asia and America in tiny crude boats, without benefit of navigating instruments.

There is hardly another part of the earth about which the prevailing notions are as false as those current about Alaska. Most people take it to be nothing but a waste, barely able to support human life. Nothing could be further from the truth. Only one-third of Alaska lies within the Arctic Circle and while it is true that life within this zone is fraught with hardship, the other two-thirds of the country enjoys a tolerable climate; its latitude is that of Scandinavia. In the southernmost parts of the vast territory (it comprises some 600,000 square miles, or twice as much as Texas, the climate is on the average milder than in the States of Oregon and Washington. The tem-



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perature rarely falls below zero, and snowfalls along the Pacific coast are a much greater rarity than in the State of Virginia.

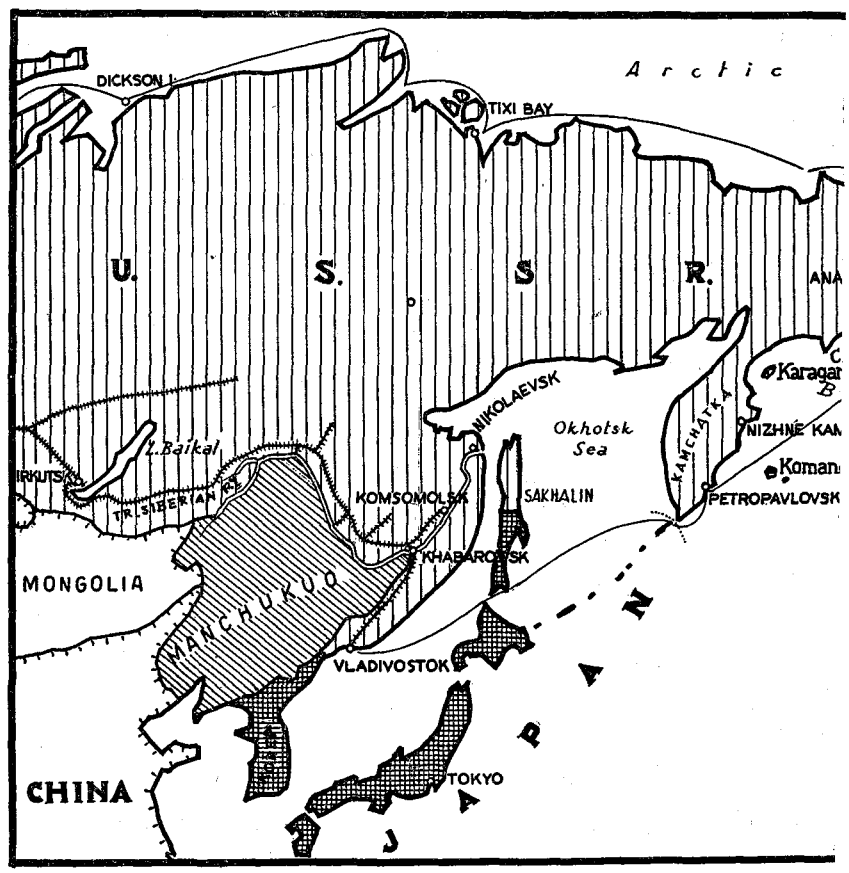
The population of the country is but 80,000 though it could readily support two million. Alaska is tremendously rich in natural resources of fish, fur-bearing animals, lumber, gold, iron, copper, tin, nickel, tungsten, zinc and other raw materials. Much of this wealth has barely been tapped. It is a tempting morsel—this rich and sparsely populated country, with its ten inhabitants per square mile.

Most of the preparations for the invasion of Alaska were made under the leadership of German officers and experts. At the time the Russians built their Far Eastern fortifications, the Germans were their allies.

The German Alaska Plan was drawn up—presumably on Hitler's initiative — by the élite of the Geo-Political School—Karl Haushofer, Colonel Ewald Banse, Dr. von Niedermayer and Major Foertsch. Countless military specialists worked on the details. It is no mere accident that the best modern study of Alaska was conducted in 1935 in Germany. It was written as a dissertation at the Institute for Colonial Geography at the University of Leipzig. Professor Heinrich Schmitthenner is the head of this Institute and he was the driving force behind the study. Its author is Dr. Martin Mueller, and it is entitled "Colonial Economy and Settlement of the Sub-Arctic West of North America." The study contains detailed information about all landing and harbor facilities, airfields, natural resources, etc. It includes a series of excellent maps, charted by the author. One of them shows the "future air routes" which are to connect Berlin, London and Leningrad with Point Barrow in Alaska, via the North Pole. This survey—like many others prepared by the Institute for Colonial Geography—was undertaken within the framework of the German Alaska Plan.

The military preparations that form the physical basis of the German Alaska Plan and that have already been put into effect are the following:

Thousands of able bodied young men, both of Russian and German origin, have been settled on Big Diomede Island, despite the fact that this Island cannot support even a hundred people.




The Island has been fortified.

During the past eight years the Soviet Government has shipped the entire native population of the Bering Strait region into the interior of Russia. This mass evacuation proceeded entirely without benefit of publicity. Hundreds of thousands of highly trained soldiers and workers were brought into the region. Nearly twenty "Soviet Cultural Settlements" were established, from the southern tip of Kamchatka to the East Cape, opposite Alaska. These "cultural" settlements include forts, coastal defenses, submarine bases, airfields for naval and landplanes, and powerful radio transmitters. In Northern Siberia, skirting the



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Bering Strait, more than twenty radio transmitters were built.

German naval and air officers and army engineers appeared regularly in Kamchatka and on the northeast coast of Siberia to supervise the work. The Komandorsky Islands, among others, were fortified and declared a "forbidden zone."

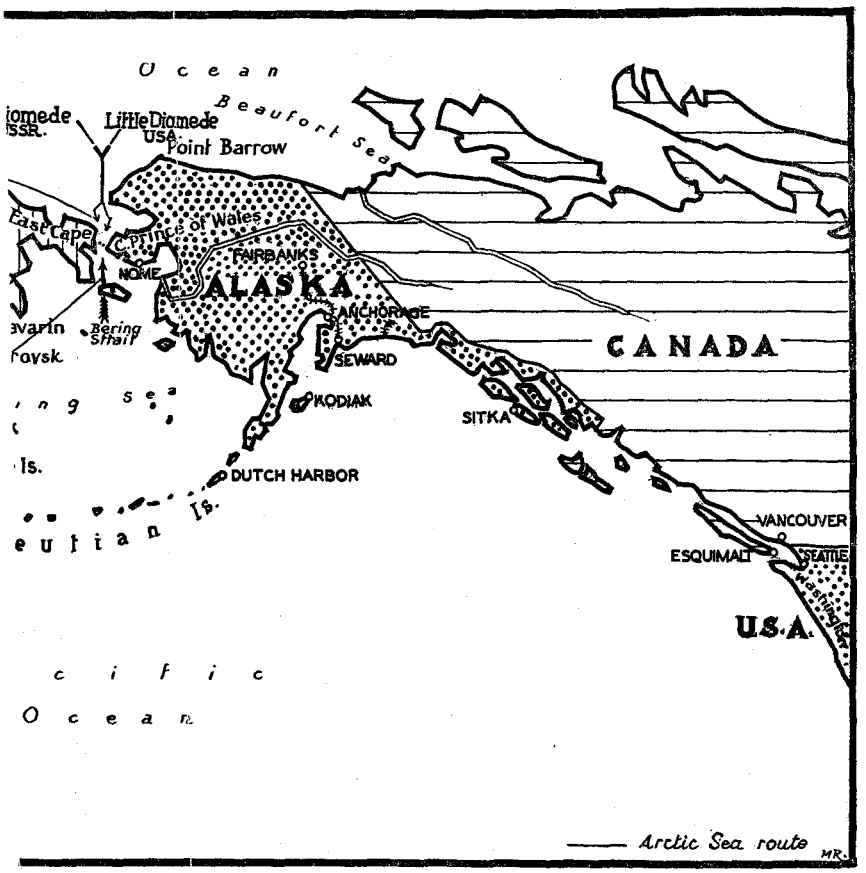
On August 11, 1940, the New York *Times* published an interesting report by its special correspondent in Shanghai, Hallett Abend, which stated: "Komandorsky Island is marked as a forbidden zone for all except Soviet Army and Navy planes and ships, although German naval officers continue to visit there with great frequency, which deepens the suspicion that a German submarine base is being prepared there."

In addition to the Komandorsky Islands, fortifications were built at the coastal cities of Kamchatka—Petropavlovsk, Nishni Kamchatsk, Karagin Island, Cape Oliotorovsk and presumably Cape Navarin.

As early as 1932 a shipyard employing 15,000 workers was built on the East Siberian coast; a city called Komsomolsk was created for these workers. Today Komsomolsk has over 200,000 inhabitants!

The strategic railroad from Khabarovsk to Komsomolsk was finished in an incredibly short time. Another strategic railroad, connecting Lake Baikal with Anadyrsk, was completed several months ago.

During that same period, since 1932, the Soviets achieved another major strategic feat. They successfully developed the so-called Arctic Sea Route from Murmansk and Archangel through the Bering Strait to Vladivostok. The economic value of this route is obvious. It has cut the cost of the Trans-Siberian bulk rail transport by almost one-half. The strategic importance of the sea route is of even greater value. Although the northern route is entirely navigable for only three months each year, it will greatly relieve the Trans-Siberian rail system by providing for troop-transports.




In the development of the Arctic Sea route the Russians introduced an important innovation, comparable to their earlier introduction of parachute troops, later used so successfully by Germany in the Netherlands and Crete. The Russians send scout planes ahead of their Arctic merchant fleet. Their special function is to draw accurate charts of iceberg positions during the flight; the planes then return to the ships and lower these charts by parachute. This innovation has been brilliantly successful. Naturally the planes can also establish radio contact with the surface vessels.

In conjunction with the White Sea Canal this route represents an almost perfect line of communication between Western Russia, on the one hand, and the Far East and Alaska on the other—a line that is extremely difficult to disrupt by enemy airplanes. It is not a pleasant prospect to contemplate what the



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Germans would do with this route available.

The Russians have built special undersized submarines, and probably have some 800 of them in the waters around Kamchatka and in the Bering Strait. According to American experts each of these submarines is manned by a crew of only three, equipped with a single torpedo, a triple-barreled machine gun and a small rapid-fire cannon. The average speed of these boats is some twenty-eight knots. Because of their agility and microscopic size they are difficult to hit. Yet they represent a serious danger to ships.

Shortly before the outbreak of the Russo-German War, the official Russian organ *Economy and Industry* reported that more than 6,000 "research parties" were at work in the Siberian regions adjacent to Alaska. Their tasks included prospecting for minerals (gold, coal, iron, etc.) and punitive expeditions directed against peasant and native tribes living in the territory illegally. More than 80,000 Chinese and Koreans who once lived in this region have been removed to unknown destinations.

In the event of a Russian defeat this whole huge military plant would be at the disposal of Germany. To this would be added the Japanese Navy, whose power is now sufficiently known.

This, then, is the basis of the German Alaska Plan. Its central idea consists of a three-pronged blitz offensive against Alaska. The first column of invading forces would push across the Arctic Sea Route to the northern coast of Alaska. It could be expected to attempt a landing in the Beaufort Sea area, near Point Barrow. The central prong of the invading army would try to reach Cape Prince of Wales by the direct route from Northeast Siberia. The third and southernmost wing would make a thrust from the German naval and air bases on Komandorsky Island against the Aleutian Islands and the American naval base at Dutch Harbor.

Frozen Alaskan waters would compel the northernmost invading force using the Arctic sea route to Point Barrow to operate between August 1 and August 30; the central column between June 7 and October 15; and the third, the southern wing, between June 2 and October 15. Only during these periods are the waters in question navigable without the aid of icebreakers.

At the same time we must anticipate that the Japanese Navy would continue to engage the American Pacific Fleet in order to keep it at a safe distance from Alaska.

What has the United States done to counteract this terrible menace to Alaska?

Until a year ago—almost nothing.

On July 1, 1940, there was a single Army post garrisoned with three-hundred men in all of Alaska. Six hundred additional soldiers were on the way to Anchorage. Thus there were less than a thousand men for the defense of a territory extending over 600,000 square miles!

*Naturally this preposterous situation* has not remained a secret. In June 1940 Ernest Gruening, Governor of Alaska, stated that "Twenty parachutists could take Alaska today." And on August 26, 1940, Alaska Highway Commissioner MacDonald said: "Three men in a fishing boat, operating on a dark night, could paralyze the United States Alaskan defense machine in less than an hour. Within ninety days after the three men had done their work the Alaskan population would be facing starvation."

One of the highest Alaskan Defense officials has expressed himself along similarly pessimistic lines: "It is almost impossible to defend an uninhabited country."

But so far no one has recognized and publicly stated the peril threatening the United States and the entire Western hemisphere from Alaska. Senator Pepper came closest as recently as June 28, 1941 when he addressed his warning to America: "If Russia falls, if the Nazis march across this ancient land, they will have thwarted British ships, British planes, British sentinels; they will have broken out of Europe; they will have reached us in spite of all the heroic Poles, British and French and Greeks and Yugoslavs have done to hold them back. If Russia falls you and I know there would not be anybody else between Hitler and Alaska, and with Alaska taken, only Canada, a nation the size that Belgium was, will stand between Hitler and us here in the continental United States."



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The data here presented lead to these conclusions:

(1) Alaska's military equipment must be multiplied. Whether this is already being done and how it will proceed are matters now shielded from public discussion.

(2) The United States must immediately conclude a mutual defense agreement with the Soviet Union enabling it to occupy the Eastern coast of Siberia from Kamchatka to the Bering Strait in order to get the jump on the Germans in case of a Russian collapse, and to undo their carefully worked-out Alaska Plan for attacking the United States.

An American-Russian agreement of this kind—similar to that in which Britain ceded Atlantic bases to the United States, would be of vital advantage not only for the United States but also for the Soviet Union. In the event that the Soviet Union can withstand the German aggressors in the long run—a development that is by no means certain, although we all hope for it—such an agreement would afford great relief to the Russian forces in the Far East, simultaneously increasing their military potential in that region.

In case of defeat and an enforced separate peace with Russia, the agreement would most likely prevent a German-Japanese occupation of the Soviet Union in the Far East.

Only if these precautionary measures are put into effect will the United States be safe from the grave danger of a German invasion of Alaska.

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*By Louis Golding*

IT WAS Mrs. Rennick of England who pulled us safely through the Blitzkrieg. It will be Frau Schmidt, the German equivalent of Mrs. Rennick, who will turn to the Gestapo and say: "To hell with you!" and so bring the pillars of the Nazi system crashing to the ground.

Let me tell you who my particular Mrs. Rennick is. She used to come in and do the cleaning up for me in my house in St. John's Wood, in London. At the beginning of the Blitzkrieg, I had a cook-housekeeper, too, but she was rather a frail countrywoman from Cheshire, so I sent her home, and Mrs. Rennick moved up socially. She became cook-housekeeper, and still did the cleaning-up. She would go round with a dust-pan and brush and collect the bits of plaster that were brought down from the ceiling both by the Nazi bombs and the exploding shells from our own big guns, just behind us in Lord's Cricket Ground.

Mrs. Rennick used to come up every day from the tough slums of Paddington. She was a large woman, with a great matronly bust. She was a good wife, but she was above all a superb mother. She had nine children of her own, but that wasn't enough to satisfy the profound passion she had for being a mother; so she adopted two more, and they fitted into the line somewhere, nobody quite knew where; she didn't either. The arrangement during the Blitz was that she spent the night with the children in her own house over in Paddington, while the husband spent the night in mine, to be on hand to put out incendiaries. Then, in the morning, she would come to St. John's Wood, and the husband and the elder boys would go off to the munition's factory in Actin. A neighbor looked after the remaining children while she was out with me. (Mrs. Rennick was very naughty about evacuating those children. She wouldn't hear of it, not on any account. "If I'm killed, they aint no good without me. If they're killed, I aint no good without them. So we stick together. That's final!")

In the early days of the Blitz I used to sleep in my air-raid shelter. It was a sort of games-room, excavated a few feet below the level of the back-garden and strutted with stout baulks of timber. You were immune from blast and if a direct hit got you, it got you. On a certain morning when I hadn't slept for several days and nights—she hadn't either of course—Mrs. Rennick insisted on bringing me a tray of breakfast in bed. I enjoyed it a lot. The all clear had gone. It was a fine morning. The early smell of the first chrysanthemums was coming in round the sandbags and Mrs. Rennick was bending down to carry off my tray when suddenly we heard the whoosh and clatter of a descending bomb. We had already had a lot of experience in judging bombs, and that was coming straight for us. Actually, it didn't, of course. But it was very close indeed and the noise was ex-



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tremely loud. The house dithered like a grass-blade, then made up its mind not to fall to pieces.

And Mrs. Rennick? She had by this time lifted the tray and had attained her full height. Not a cup, not a spoon tinkled. The breakfast things might have been stuck to the tray with glue. She walked out towards her kitchen as erect as a caryatid.

Now the point I wish to make is this: that the whole of that Blitzkrieg was directed primarily at Mrs. Rennick: to send that tray flying out of her hands, and to bring her grovelling to her knees. It was chiefly an attack on the London working-classes, where they are congregated, eastward in the dockland areas and southward from the Surrey bank. Regions like Paddington were jam too, of course. The idea was to keep on bombing night after night, night after night, till all the Mrs. Rennicks couldn't stand it any more. They couldn't stand it because if they weren't dead or maimed, their husbands or their children were. And if the Mrs. Rennicks and their families had come through all right, at all events their nerves hadn't. To begin with, they hadn't had any sleep for weeks on end. Then everything had gone wrong with everything. Bombs had destroyed the city mains. There was no water in the taps, no water to flush the toilets. If there was any water in the taps, there wasn't any gas to boil it with to make a cup of tea. What? Can you imagine it? Mrs. Rennick without a cup of tea?

So there was only one thing to do about it. "Stop this war!" cries Mrs. Rennick firmly. That is the way Herr Goering had planned it. And she gathers her husband and her children together, all the Mrs. Rennicks gather their husbands and children together, from Poplar and Bermondsey, from Battersea and Paddington. And the vast procession, wild-eyed for sleep, marches upon Westminster and cries: "We've had enough! Stop this bloody war!"

But, of course, it didn't work out like that.

I saw it all happening before my eyes, there in London during the Blitzkrieg. As an observer observing a test case in a laboratory, I could see in the behavior of Mrs. Rennick, who was London incarnate, exactly what Herr Goering was up to, how close he came to getting what he was after, and how miserably he failed.

It wasn't to me Mrs. Rennick talked. It was to Rimmer the gardener, and I usually contrived to listen, pretending I was trying to get through to the Ministry of Information. Her domain was on the house side of the kitchen window, where she would stand washing up at the sink. His domain was the garden side of the window, where he was going to put down vegetables between the lilac and the laburnum.

There was no doubt of it. About the middle of the fourth week, Herr Goering was beginning to wear her down a bit. She had a husband and all those children to look after. She had her own house and mine. She was worried about her aged parents, whose small four-roomed house in Wapping had been bombed. They still had one room fairly intact, though not weather-proof, and the old folk refused to leave it. They had gone to that house after their wedding nearly half a century ago, and had brought up a large family in it. They refused to leave it, not for no 'Itler.

So Mrs. Rennick in that fourth week began to get a little fractious; all the more when she saw the dentist from round the corner go off in his car that Saturday to join his family in his country cottage.

"See? What did I tell you?" complained Mrs. Rennick to Rimmer. (She was almost dead, I say, for lack of sleep). "It's a matter of rich and poor after all, ain't it? Why ain't I got a car? Why ain't I got no country cottage to take my kids away for a bit of a rest? It ain't fair! No, it bleedin' well aint!"

She was talking exactly as the gentleman in the Wilhelmstrasse wanted her to talk. What a grin there would have been on their faces if they could have heard her! It was all exactly what they had been waiting for. Turn the poor against the rich, the people against the Government! Victory is far cheaper and easier that way, far, as they had found time and time again.

Rimmer was reasonable, as all gardeners are. He pointed out softly that the Rennick children could have been well out of it if their parents had wanted. He said that if the dentist didn't get a bit of sleep, it would be tough luck on somebody having their teeth drilled on Monday morning. It all depends on your job, he said. Some jobs you can take away, some jobs you can get away from. There's only one job for all of us to do; do our own job the best we know how.

Mrs. Rennick said "Humph!" and went on scouring her dishes. Rimmer got to work on the roots of the tiger-lily where an incendiary had fallen spluttering a couple of nights ago. The tiger-lily was still doing fine.

A week or so later the thing we had all been waiting for began to happen. Clearly (Berlin was saying to itself) London had had enough. Look at the effect that single big raid on the outskirts of Paris had had! Look what the threat of general bombing to the city had done! Flesh and blood could stand no more. London had had enough, grinned Berlin. The air and the newspapers were full of peace-kites, wafted over on a sweet wind from the *Reichskanzlei.*



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And there they were again, Rimmer and Mrs. Rennick, each on his own side of the wide-open kitchen-window.

"Well, Mrs. Rennick, and what do you think about it?" inquired the grave Rimmer. "These 'ere peace-offers from old Adolf, I mean? Do you think we've 'ad about enough? Isn't it about time we gave in?" His manner was grave, but there was a twinkle in his eye. He had some idea what her answer was going to be. He had, after all, a Mrs. Rennick of his own.

Mrs. Rennick at that moment was washing the cutlery. She had the large meat-knife in her hand. She thought a moment, then she spoke. As she spoke, she pased her thumb along the edge of the blade.

"Sooner than give in to that there 'Itler," she said, "I'd lose all my eleven kids along that wall, and cut their bleedin' throats, one after the other!"

"I see!" said Rimmer. He turned to his tiger-lily. She polished off her knives and forks.

The metabolic change, the miracle, had taken place inside her and in the hearts of all the Mrs. Rennicks. Her system had learned how to do without sleep, or how to get along with a few minutes' nap snatched between air-raid warnings. If necessary, she would get along without her cup of tea, for days at a time. She would pull through all right. Oh yes, she would pull us all through.

●

What happened to Mme. Dubois, the French Mrs. Rennick? Why did she let M. Dubois cave in, as our Mrs. Rennick never let our Mr. Rennick cave in, that is, if he for one moment wanted to?

Well, in the first place, Mme. Dubois is a more logical creature than Mrs. Rennick, as we all know. She knew that in the war against the *sale Boche,* there were two possible results, France might win and France might lose. Once you admit that second alternative that you might lose, the possibility is enormously increased that you actually will lose. Apart from the few days of dither somewhere round the fourth week of the Blitz, Mrs. Rennick never admitted for one moment that Britain might lose. From the point of view of logic that was absurd. From the point of view of morale that stupidity was immeasurably important, and perhaps it wasn't so absurd either. Mrs. Rennick was quite prepared to cut the bleedin' throats of all her children, and then let Hitler's bomb finish off herself and her husband. So were all the Mrs. Rennicks. It is the spirit which has been animating her Russian counterpart, Maria Mariovna. It makes victory a terribly tough job for the other side.

Let me turn then from Mrs. Rennick and Mrs. Dubois to Frau Schmidt. It is Frau Schmidt that Hitler is afraid of, more than anyone else inside or outside his country. All the males from the oldest to the youngest are taken care of. They are in the army or the Nazi party, the S.S., the S.A., the *Hitlerjugend.* In the factories, the offices, the fields, they are under the closest supervision. For the time being they offer no problem. The girls are all right, too, as much as the boys. It's only Frau Schmidt, the mother of sons and daughters, who causes the little black moustache to twist now and again. She is a bit old-fashioned, poor dear. She is not a hundred per cent won over to the idea that it is woman's glorious destiny, married or unmarried, to be a sausage machine for the turning out of sausage-babies. When a girl loses her soldier-boy, the job is done once. It is over. She can throw herself in an ecstasy of grief and surrender into the arms of the dream-lover, the radiant Adolf. But when materfamilias loses her sons, one after the other, it is, of course, a more prolonged job. She is apt to get peevish, to think dangerous thoughts over that stew-pot of hers.

And that is what the Gestapo is all about, to keep an eye on Frau Schmidt. Of course, the Gestapo has lots of jobs on the side; we now know quite a lot about their other jobs. It can be said that the real ruler of Germany is the Gestapo—not the Nazi party bosses, not the *Herrenklub,* the gang of senior Prussian officers, but the Gestapo. And the principal executive agent of the Gestapo is the *Hausportier,* the house porter. He is an old man shuffling on carpet slippers, but he is the grapevine, the ear at every hole in the wall, the eye at every keyhole.

Beware of those thoughts stewing in your head, Frau Schmidt, as you bend over your stew-pot!

She is very important indeed, this Frau Schmidt, in the pattern of German victory and German defeat. What are we going to do about Frau Schmidt? Frau Schmidt or no Frau Schmidt, the armies will go on fighting, the air forces, the under-sea and above-sea forces. It is the substance of our hope and faith that in the end the forces fighting for freedom will prevail. Slowly, relentlessly, as the armies and the equipment of the anti-Hitler fronts increase in mass, the Hitler armies will be forced farther and further back towards their own frontiers, the process aided, it may well be, by devastating outbreaks in the occupied country.

And how long will all that take, till the enemy armies are at last at bay, everywhere within their own frontier? A year, two years, ten years! And after that, how long will it take to force the final decision? A long job,



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many people think, if it will be armies fighting armies, vast hecatombs of bodies, deep rivers of blood.

But will it be that way in the final issue, armies against armies? I venture to think not. Frau Schmidt will have taken a hand. We will have paid poor Frau Schmidt a lot of attention by then.

I mean we will have handed out to her, at a very heavy rate of interest, the stuff her people handed out to Mrs. Rennick. It is not folly to imagine that by that time the combined Allied Air Forces will be substantially larger than the enemy's. I have already suggested that by that time the Royal Air Force will no longer be basing their operations on British aerodromes where British mists have so often grounded them. It is a pleasant speculation that by that time the plains of Northern Italy may afford them one of their happiest jumping-off grounds. Frau Schmidt of Munich must be called upon no less than Frau Schmidt of Berlin.

Our Air Forces will be in one respect cleverer than the Luftwaffe, as they have always been, I think. They will not drop bombs indiscriminately in such a way that they are likely as not to fall on hospitals and schools and air-raid shelters. That would have entirely the wrong effect on Frau Schmidt. There was nothing made Mrs. Rennick so fighting-mad as the thought or sight of the odd child, the odd grey-beard, smashed into bloody pulp.

No, the Allied Air Forces will concentrate on the amenities, the gas storage tanks, the electric plants, the water reservoirs. Days and nights and weeks will go by, and there will be no gas in the gas-stove, no water in the tap, no current in the wires. Exactly as it was in London, excepting that, if necessary, it will last a lot longer. And poor Frau Schmidt will be crazy for want of sleep, exactly as with Mrs. Rennick. But there will be one vitally important difference. There will be no metabolic change, no miracle of adaptation, in Frau Schmidt's system. Partly because the war will be a lot older by then than it was for Mrs. Rennick during *our* Blitz. But much more because Frau Schmidt will not have the same wells of moral strength to draw upon. Mrs. Rennick was promised blood and sweat and tears, and when they came she was not surprised. But it was not those things Frau Schmidt was promised. The Lord of the Luftwaffe promised her that not one enemy plane would sully the pure German skies. And it was not so. And Frau Schmidt, alone in her family, had certain reservations about the war, of a type which were completely absent from the mind of Mrs. Rennick.

And in a sudden access of wild courage, and in a voice sharpened by the hysteria of fatigue, she turns to the woman at her side in the courtyard there, or in her own kitchen, and calling on the name of the discredited Christ, she cries out: "For Christ's sake, we've had enough! We will go no further!"

And in that moment, the *Hausportier,* who was not there a moment earlier, has come up between them, like a shadow, like a smell out of the drain. He looks at Frau Schmidt in a certain manner, the Gestapo or Concentration Camp manner, the manner which has never before failed to stifle the murmur in Frau Schmidt's throat. He lifts his finger to his nose. "Now! Now!" he growls. The whole concentration camp is in his voice, the barbed wire fences, the blazing arc-lamps, the rubber truncheons and lumps of lead piping.

And in a moment of terrible vision, Frau Schmidt realizes that the concentration camp is somehow not really worse than this—the toilet that will not flush, the coffee which is dyed sawdust, the sleep that will not ever come. It may be more acute, but in that case, the end is sooner, and that is the thing for which the marrow is aching, the end, dear God, the end.

"To hell with you!" she cries to the *Hausportier,* the Gestapo, the true ruler of Germany. And spits in his face.

And the bad dream is over, the black magic is exorcised. There is no more Gestapo. Frau Schmidt takes the matter in hand from now on. The Nazi bosses, the Prussian generals, crumble piecemeal into the gutters, like dirty snow in a thaw; and with them the little man with mud-splash moustaches, the man whom the world's mothers will not forgive.

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*Drawing by Derso and Kelen*

**Hitler: "*American blood? Well done, Son of the Sun!*"**

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# *with thanks to* JAPAN

By EDGAR ANSEL MOWRER

WHEN at dawn, December 7, Japanese airplanes struck at the unsuspecting American base at Pearl Harbor in the Hawaiian Islands, blasting battleships and airfields and killing thousands, the "total" war became "global." The German and Italian declarations of war that followed the Japanese attack by four days were only incidental, or in the words of one Senator, an "anti-climax."

"Total" war is nothing new. It has frequently existed among savages. The late lamented General Erich Ludendorff, who, I believe, coined the phrase, aimed precisely at a revival of primitive practice, namely the involvement of an entire population in military operations. People and their resources were simply to be gathered up and, in a supreme effort, flung upon another people. None should be allowed to shirk or "hold out" anything from the struggle. Ludendorff foresaw, of course, that the people attacked would, if it escaped the first *blitz,* be compelled in turn to become "total," if it hoped to escape. In such war, no holds were to be barred; lies, treachery, terror, massacre—all were licit and proper. Out of such a conflict, which seemed to Ludendorff almost sublime, a *Herrenvolk* or master people would emerge. This people's "right" not to spare the losers was inherent in its victory. Incidentally, one may note that not only Niccolò Macchiavelli, with his admiration for blonde roaming beasts, but the great Dante Alighieri shared this quaint conception. In the *De Monarchia,* the latter explained that, since the ancient Romans acquired their "imperium" *per bellum,* they acquired it *de jure.* It is quite a change from this to the Stimson Doctrine.

Ludendorff thought he lost the first "total" war largely because it had not been total enough. Brutal as his Germans were, they did occasionally treat their prisoners and victims in a shockingly kind hearted way, and had been known momentarily to turn aside from bloodshed and plunder to pay attention to purely private affairs.

In World War Two, the Nazis, who took their Ludendorff seriously, rose easily to "total inhumanity," and struck new records in ferocious power and the truly maniacal application of terror. The Japanese proved themselves not only worthy disciples but added a new thought: the systematic doping of the victims by narcotics, in order to lesson their will to resistance. Yet although some Japanese may later dispute it, to Adolf Hitler belongs the credit for having, in modern times, first integrally applied the principles of "total" war.

And just as Hitler over-trumped the weak-hearted Kaiser in his unswerving application of terror, so, thanks to a judicious choice of allies, he was able to outshine him completely in the number of countries attacked, territories ravaged, and peoples bombed into slavery.



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With only Austria-Hungary, Bulgaria and Turkey for allies, the Kaiser's Germany really never succeeded in becoming a world scourge, as Attila claimed to have been. Considerable portions of the planet remained completely untouched, sunk in cowardly pacifism or decadent civilization. Not so with the Nazis of Adolf Hitler.

When in September, 1940 he persuaded the Japanese militarists, who were already completely fascinated by his political sex-appeal, that they could best extricate themselves from the Chinese morass by becoming a spoke in the Rome-Berlin Axis (or Axle), and also fulfill the ultimate aspirations of Hakko Ichi-u by acquiring a Vital Space of their own, the great Nazi transformed a big but still not a world war into something that promised splendid developments. And when the docile Japanese, after sound coaching, skillfully concealed their intentions behind a web of deceit and struck at Pearl Harbor, World War Two became really global. The wise-crack of Pierre de Lanux had every chance of coming true: from the United States there would be no refugees, for there would be no place left for them to go.

Having established these things and given honor where honor is due, let us pass on to sterner matters.

Historians may some day chronicle all the horrible effects of Japan's treacherous stab at the United States—and the still more deplorable fact that it caught the American Army and Navy Authorities completely asleep, accomplished a vast deal of destruction, and conceivably prolonged the war with vast increase of human sacrifice before it could be won. The American President has already warned us of this by the solemnity of his recent words. Some of us did not need warning, for we had long understood that, however it might seem at one or another particular moment the present struggle was for the democracies primarily one for self-preservation. You cannot appease or tame a man-eating shark: if he comes your way either you or he has to succumb.

As one who returned from the Far East only a couple of weeks before the Japanese struck, I am tempted to discuss the situation in China, Burma, Thailand, Indo China, Malaya and the Dutch Indies—to discuss the strategic situation and dilate on what might happen if Russian bombers would only strike at Tokyo or if Singapore fell into Japanese hands. Had there been no Japanese attack on this country and no subsequent declarations of war by Germany and Italy, I might have done this. Now it seems to me more relevant to state why, despite the serious consequences of the act, I am content, yes, glad, of the Japanese knife-thrust in the back of Uncle Sam.

For I think that very conceivably this dirty stroke has saved the United States and with it the decent portion of humanity elsewhere, from ultimate defeat and enslavement. And I fear that nothing less outrageous and less drastic could have done it.

Let us consider what the thrust at Pearl Harbor has done to us Americans in the way of benefits.

In the first place, it got us into the war when there was still the possibility—rather the certainty—of winning it. A large portion of the American people was still unconvinced of the necessity of doing this. Another part seemed doped, almost as though the Japanese had already got at them with their narcotics, and went mooning about with shut eyes, mumbling that all would be well if only the wicked Administration in Washington would cease seeing horrors where there were really only phantoms. A small part was nursing secret hopes for a German, or rather for a Nazi victory that would result in extending to the United States the benefits of a new and presumably fascist regime. To be sure the Administration was helping the democ-



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racies as much as it could without actually going to war. But without war it could not focus the attention of all this country, of capital, of labor, of the golf players and the movie goers and the rest, on the necessity of forcing war production at the expense of everything else. And there is no reason to believe that without the Japanese attack, the President was thinking of asking Congress for a declaration of war, still less, that the Congress would have given it to him. There is even some evidence for the fact that had the Japanese merely invaded Thailand, the American Administration might not have moved, the Japanese might have beaten the British in Malaya and Burma and brought the Axis a long way toward winning the war.

Instead, the axis made the war on us —and whether we would or not, we Americans had to fight. Let us thank Hitler and his Japs for it.

Let us thank them again for having the Japanese strike us first. For had Adolf and his faithful hound Benito declared war on us, many Americans might still have failed to see just how this had anything to do with a stale old war that Japanese in Asia had been waging for four and a half years on Chinese—quite in the line with certain Europeans who could not really see why they should worry over a Civil War in Spain, keep Mussolini from grabbing Ethiopia or die for Danzig. Today American troops are allowed by Congress to fight anywhere they can best be used. There will soon be an international command or General Staff which will agree to send men or material from all the countries warring on aggression to the places they are needed. For patently, in the eyes of all, this war has become global and there is no escaping it.

The third benefit in the Japanese attack lay in the horrid measure of its success. At Pearl Harbor, the army and the navy suffered a disaster. Whereas just a few days before many Americans had been boasting that their country, God's country, had nothing to fear from attack from all the world across those protecting oceans, suddenly the Japs showed themselves capable of sneaking up on us, aiming with deadly accuracy at our Maginot Line at Pearl Harbor, putting God knows how many ships and planes out of action, upsetting our war plans and endangering our existence, all alone!

With those ships and planes went a large part of our American conceit. There is such a thing as healthy self-confidence. What ailed us Americans was simply conceit. I have heard the American Navy speak with great condescension of the British Navy. Norway and Crete were, they said, the sort of idiotic blunders an average American ensign would have avoided. As for the Japs . . . well, three months. . . . If the Germans managed to destroy so many of their adversaries' planes on the ground, what else could you expect from Poles and French and Russians? Benighted American manufacturers of warplanes never failed to claim them as the world's finest though American pilots fresh from fighting Germans in English skies insisted they would rather fly Spitfires. The American Army for some time gave scant hearing to American officers who, on the basis of things seen abroad, thought some revision of our ideas and matériel was necessary.

I venture to say it will be some time before we again hear the phrase, "best in the world," referring to ourselves. And that will be a priceless benefit.

For out of the mixture of provincialism and conceit there grew in us a monstrous complacency that is chiefly responsible for the Pearl Harbor misfortune. And when the test came, the Japanese tricked us, outsmarted us, outmaneuvered us and landed a terrible blow. Let us be thankful that that blow came at the beginning and not after a year of war. For in all likelihood, it has brought us to



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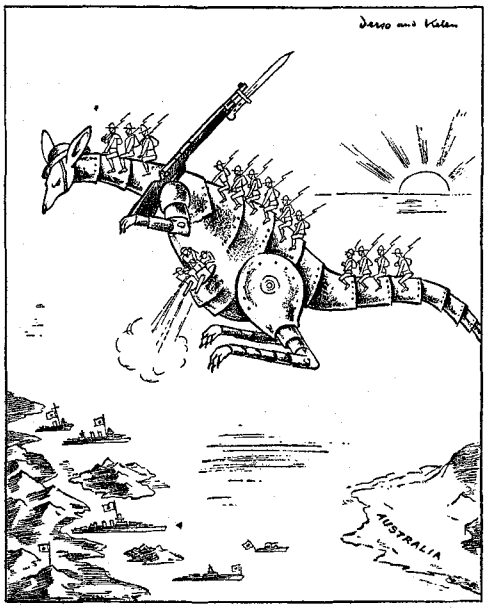
our senses while there is still time to act.

As a final possible benefit of our setback, I rate a greater appreciation of fellowship with all the peoples fighting against international brigandage. It is hard for those who have never known poverty to sympathize fully with the poor. In the minds of the born prosperous, there nearly always lurks the suspicion that the poor are poor because they are lazy, and the unfortunate are miserable because of some defect in themselves. Now we too are miserable. Not since the Civil War have we had seriously to fear for our army and our navy. Before Pearl Harbor we sincerely sympathized with Poles and Czechs and Chinese and Norwegians and Free French and did something to help them. But we hardly expected that we too could undergo a disaster that might completely have beaten a smaller, weaker people. Now we who laughed at foreigners for leaving their airplanes out to be bombed on the ground can feel our cheeks burning. . . .

I think these burning cheeks will do more to unite us with our allies in this war than anything else could. I think we shall begin to feel a real brotherhood-in-frailty with them, and understand better that we are linked by an indissoluble fate with all those who share our ideals, and shall win or lose with them.

Out of a reburnished sense of solidarity with foreign allies like those who founded FREE WORLD may conceivably be born a spirit that will make victory sure and a successful peace probable. That sort of peace cannot be merely national. This was never a national war and nationalism is historically as dead as isolationism. A Great Peace must be founded on a burning realization of the community of civilized interests, from hemisphere to hemisphere, from people to people. Without this realization the future seems to me to hold little more than a long series of new wars, each fundamentally more destructive and senseless than its predecessors. With it, upon it, can be built a new world order worthy of those who, in two World Wars, will have died to bring it about.




*Australian Panzer-Kangaroo*



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# WAR IN THE PACIFIC

by

Wou Saofong

THE wanton attack of Japan upon American and British possessions in the Pacific has made the A.B.C.D. powers full allies in the democratic front against Japan and her Axis partners, Germany and Italy. For solidarity with the United States and Great Britain, China has declared war on Germany and Italy at the same time as on Japan. The Chinese government has declared that its basic principle of cooperation with the A.B.C.D. powers against the Axis is "One for all, all for one."

The outbreak of the European war was welcomed by Japanese militarists as a golden opportunity to seize the rich resources of the South through invasion of the European and American possessions of the South Sea. In spite of their confidence in aggression, the Japanese militarists considered carefully the execution of their plan before risking the destiny of their empire. They hoped first to win the war without fighting. They thought that the U. S. and Britain would surrender the western Pacific to Japan in order to avoid a war on two fronts. Indeed the interest of the United States and Great Britain was to avoid war on both the Atlantic and the Pacific. But patience has a limit. To the surprise of Japan the American and British attitude toward her suddenly became less friendly after the outbreak of the Russo-German war. The answer to the Japanese invasion of Indo-China was the intensification of defense work, an embargo of war materials to Japan, and the freezing of Japanese assets. Believing in the fear of the United States and Britain of a two front war, the Japanese continued to encroach in the Pacific. When they were convinced that the United States and Great Britain would not betray China and retire from Eastern Asia, they began to prepare for their secret attack on American and British possessions in the Pacific under the cover of diplomatic negotiations in Washington.

Japan's foreign policy toward Russia is the same as her policy toward the United States and Great Britain. The temptation to invade Russia after the outbreak of the Russo-German war was almost irresistible. While she debated the chance of success, Russia's demonstration of great military strength and heroic resistance, and the news of three million German casualties on the battlefield impelled her to refrain from invading Siberia in winter. But that does not mean that Japan's hope of invading Russia has been abandoned.

The premeditated attack on United States territory while diplomatic negotiations were going on in Washington opened the eyes of Americans to the truth that Japan, under her present political regime, believes only in force. It is the first time in American history that the United States has been invaded without warning and humiliated so flagrantly by another nation. Yet this war brings with its evil some benefits.

It is the first time in human history that peace-loving people are linked together in a war to end aggression. It is also the first time that aggressive regimes are linked together in attack. Therefore good and evil are clearly separated. Besides, there is a lesson for the American isolationists: in modern times favorable geographic conditions are not a guarantee of national security, and "peace is indivisible." (Ambassador Litvinoff.) And the ideal of the League of Nations is definitely saved from death.

The final fall of Japanese imperialism is thus made inevitable. In a modern war, military strength is composed of fighting spirit, man power, and economic resources. The Japanese people are already getting tired from their four and a half years of war in China. The prospect of a long war with the A.B.C.D. powers should convince them that victory is hopeless. The peoples of the allied countries choose death rather than enslavement. As far as man power is concerned, the United States, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, India, and the British colonies in Oceania and the Philippines have a population of one billion, thirty-two million—this leaves out entirely the Latin American countries—while Japan has only seventy-two million people. The economic position of the A.B.C.D. Allies is far superior to Japan's, provided the Allies are able to hold the South Sea islands. Seventy-six per cent of Japan's war materials were imported from the United States, Great Britain, and the Dutch East Indies. It is unfortunate that the A.B.C.D. countries are today bombarded by Japan with oil and iron they had shipped to Japan. She cannot continue her war more than a year without fresh supplies from the outside world, according to the estimates of economic experts.



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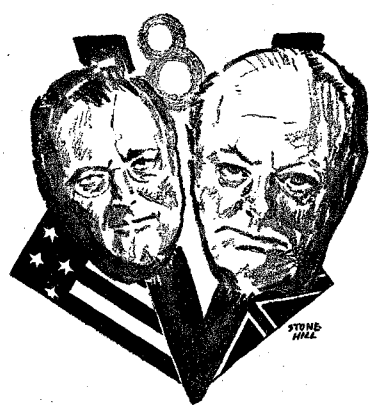
But material strength can be used most potently in combination with high fighting spirit. And that can best be created by a rational war aim. That is to say, the American and British people must be clearly told what ideal they are fighting for. It is obvious that the fruit of the Allied victory in the last war was not encouraging for the common people. Twenty years later they have the second World War, which they are not responsible for. In spite of the former victory they are living as poorly as before. Social injustice is not wiped out. In order to create an ideal the American and British should commit themselves to a more progressive war aim—a free world based upon international, political, economic democracy guaranteed by collective security.

The decisive factors for a quick victory of the A.B.C.D. powers are chiefly the American and British navy and air force in the Pacific, the Chinese army, and Russian participation in the war. The first factor explains itself. The Chinese army is one of the largest of the world and of high fighting spirit. What they need is war material from the United States in order to launch an offensive in the south to create a military base running from Canton to Hongkong. Should that strategy succeed, Japanese communications between Formosa and Indo-China could be cut off, a new road of communication between Chungking and the sea could be established, and a new air base in Canton could be used to combat Formosa and Japan, provided that Hongkong and the Philippines can hold out or be recaptured. Singapore is the most important strategic point in South Asia. It must be saved at any cost.

Finally, the participation of Russia in the war against Japan is also essential. The German army at the Russian Western front seems to be exhausted and no longer able to attack. The Russian Eastern army of more than a half million men is quite enough to defend Siberia against Japanese attack, if not to invade Japan. But the greatest strategic advantage of Russian participation in the war is to give the Allies the use of the Siberian air bases for Japanese industrial centers. It is also to Russia's interest to destroy Japanese imperialism now, because should Russia miss this opportunity, in the event of Japan's capture of Singapore, Japanese forces would then be free to move northward against her, though they would be terribly punished by the bitter cold in Siberia. The present German retreat in Russia is to be viewed as a temporary setback, a German comeback next spring being quite possible. In order to remove the Japanese threat from her Eastern front, Russia should tackle Japan in cooperation with the American, British, and Chinese forces before it is too late.

Westerners have the habit of underestimating the strength of the spirit. The successful Chinese resistance to Japanese aggression is proof of the triumph of spirit over matter. French collapse is proof of the same truth in a reverse way. There is a sound precept of Chinese political philosophy:

"A nation is regenerated in a period of anxiety and suffering; it degenerates in a period of pleasure and comfort."





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# Six times sentenced to Death

By KOSTA TODOROFF

I HEARD the other day a German controlled radio station announce the passing of a death sentence upon my head. I have been condemned to die by the authorities in Sofia for my opposition to Hitlerism and radio condemnation of the pro-Axis policy of the King of my country —Boris of Bulgaria.

This is the sixth time I have been sentenced to death. But I am still very much alive. This is my story:

I was 16 years old, a pupil at the military academy in Sofia. Given a rifle for the first time, I put five bullets into the practice target and felt myself a fighting man. It was 1905.

Revolution was starting in Russia and in Macedonia, then a Turkish province under the Red Sultan Abdul Hamid. Full of fighting fervor I left the academy to join a band of comitadji. Fighting side by side with the revolutionaries we made guerilla war in the mountains of Macedonia in the area of Kavadar. It was wild, hazardous, thrilling out there among the rocky ridges.

I was the best educated of the band and became secretary to the chief, Pesho Samardjieff. My name was printed next to his in the pamphlet of the Revolutionary Committee of the Kavadar District. I was proud of myself, but soon sorry. It was like this:

We hanged a certain Ibrahim Agha, chief of the district of Kavadar, notorious for his cruelties. I countersigned the death sentence. News of the hanging reached Salonica. On the authority of the Sultan I was condemned to death. But I was skipping along the rough, stone-strewn paths of Kojuh Mountain, with my gun on my shoulder and caring naught for anyone, treating as a great joke the sentence of the Sultan.

With a faked passport I got to Constantinople. The Turkish police were on my track, but I eluded them, leaving all my luggage at a hotel, including a few bombs and revolvers. In the dead of night I secretly slipped onto the "Chigatchoff", a Russian steamer bound for Odessa. I worked my passage washing crockery and helping in the galley.

Again accused of plotting against the Sultan, a second death sentence fell upon me. But at that moment I threw myself into the great Russian revolutionary movement. It was February 1906.

Street fights, bomb explosions and a harried, nerve-wracking life in the catacombs of Odessa ended in my arrest in October. A month later the military regional tribunal presided over by General Nichtchenkoff condemned me to death. For the third time I was in the shadow of the gallows, but escaped hanging because of my youth. I was not yet 18, so they reprieved me and shut me in prison.

Seven long years I lay there, making the best use of my time by studying books in the prison library. Thus I prepared for examinations which enabled me to take degrees in history and literature!

Early in 1914 the Russian authorities expelled me to Bulgaria, where I arrived to find my homeland effervescing with trouble following the Balkan War and in the midst of a national catastrophe provoked by the King Ferdinand.

I entered wholeheartedly into the fight against the King, writing newspaper articles which resulted in a sentence to two years' imprisonment. I had had enough of prison cells, so, without waiting for my sentence to be ratified, I got a fake passport to Brussels.

There I set myself up as correspondent to the Russian newspaper "Den", of Petrograd.

A few months later the European War began. I tried to enlist in the Belgian Army but they had not enough weapons for their own volunteers. So I made for France and joined 20,000 other foreigners. A new regiment of the Foreign Legion was established to make room for us all.

From September 1915 we were in the front line—Artois, Aisne, Champagne, Somme, Alsace. From rank to rank I rose and was captain when, in the Summer of 1916, I found myself in Salonica under General Sarrail, C-in-C of the Allied Armies in the East.

One day the General sent for me. I was instructed to reach the General Staff of the Bulgarian Army and offer in General Sarrail's name a separate peace in Bulgaria.



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I was in an unhappy position. For when I enlisted with the French, Bulgaria had been neutral. But in October 1915, King Ferdinand had thrown my country onto the side of Germany. However, I had my orders. Soon afterwards I landed by plane behind the Bulgarian lines.

I succeeded in reaching Bulgarian G.H.Q. at Kustendil and presented myself to the Commander-in-Chief, who listened to General Sarrail's terms. They were rejected and I was sent to the front to be judged by a military court. On November 16, 1916, I was sentenced to death,—for the fourth time,—by the court martial of the 7th Bulgarian Division.

This time I thought my end had come. But General Sarrail threatened that if I were shot he would immediately execute 50 Bulgarian officers whom he was holding as prisoners. They had been sent as emissaries to parley with the Allies. So I was reprieved and sent to the prison of Sofia, where I remained until the end of the war.

In the Sofia prison I met the Bulgarian peasant chief Alexandre Stambulisky and his friends, who were being held because of their opposition to the German-minded policy of King Ferdinand.

We became great friends and I joined the Peasant Party. After the war I was freed and became a member of the Bulgarian Delegation at the Paris Peace Conference, Under-Secretary of State, Bulgarian Minister in Belgrade, and a delegate to the Leaue of Nations. Stambulisky was now head of the Bulgarian Government.

I was representing Bulgaria at the Lausanne Conference in June 1923 when a military *coup d'etat* took place in Sofia. The Stambulisky Government was overthrown and a regime of terror began. Stambulisky and a number of his friends were assassinated. I protested, resigned, and soon took the lead in the bitter fight against the regime of Tzankoff, as President of the Bulgarian Revolutionary Committee.

I led the struggle in Bulgaria and abroad from June 1923 until May 1925. For my activities a civil tribunal in Sofia sentenced me to death. For the fifth time the threat of the gallows hung over me. But I was in Paris, out of harm's way, when the decree was made.

In January 1933 a new Bulgarian Government voted a general amnesty and I returned to Sofia. In November of the same year fascists attacked and wounded me at Lomx, on the Danube.

Elected President of the Bulgarian Peasant Party, I was banished from my country several times. The last time was in May 1938, because of my opposition to the pro-German policy of King Boris.

From 1933 to 1939 I was condemned to various penalties, chiefly for newspaper articles I had written. I took a resolute position against the policy of King Boris in the present war. My conviction was that a German victory would mean the death of my country's liberty and independence.

Now I am condemned to death again—this time by a military tribunal of Sofia.

A few last words: I have always believed that life without liberty does not make sense. I support the rights of the people and the individual against all forms of oppression. I have always respected the laws of free countries. But I do not recognise the laws of despots.

I have lived long in France, in the United States, and now I am in Britain. In these countries I have never been condemned to a single day's detention, or to the slightest fine. But every time I see injustice and tyranny and oppression I revolt, and act against them!

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# Hitler's Criminal Code

By ROBERT M. W. KEMPNER

ACCORDING to the present German criminal code, a citizen of the United States in his own home town commits a crime if he signs an anti-Hitler petition, or if he joins an anti-Nazi organization, or if he criticizes destructively the activity of a leader of the foreign section of the National Socialist party in the United States. A German citizen in New York who marries a non-Aryan, or who listens to the British Broadcast, also commits a crime "for which he must answer according to German law in Germany." Suppose the respective foreign or German citizen falls into the sphere of German sovereignty, for example by a forced airplane landing or as a prisoner of war, or by kidnapping, then the law would be enforced.

These cases are in reality less absurd than they appear at first glance if one remembers that during the last months Polish and Yugoslavian nationals have been sentenced by German Criminal Courts for anti-German activities which were committed many months before the German troops entered those countries.

The purpose of the far-reaching German jurisdiction is, as the official comments reveal, "to protect our inflexible moral code," "to close existing gaps and to make the German law enforcement system really all-inclusive." The results are, on the one hand, punitive actions, as in Poland, and on the other hand preventive, as in the Americas. For this reason the German consulates in South America have announced the special importance of the new world-wide German jurisdiction which is based on a decree of the German Defense Council, signed by its chairman, General Fieldmarshal Herman Goering.

Specifically, the decree of May 6, 1940 claims world-wide jurisdiction of the German authorities over crimes of foreign nationals, regardless of where they are committed, if the case involves German interests. It claims world-wide unlimited jurisdiction of the German authorities over all crimes of German nationals, regardless of where they are committed.

With this measure, the Third Reich has abandoned the territorial principle, formerly recognized in the German Criminal Code. German law had enjoyed the respect of other countries, as well as the admiration of German citizens, because its basic principles were fair. This claim of world wide jurisdiction would be laughable if it were not fatally serious to those who have already been caught by it. The importance of this decree is augmented and made ridiculously incredible in American eyes by the specification that its power is retroactive to a maximum of thirty years.

The building up of the new Nazi system of criminal justice, to which the decree belongs, was not completed until 1940 because only during times of emergency could the assistance of lay-judges (*Schöffen*) and the remainder of the "due process" system be abolished without any real argument. Furthermore, it was not until 1940 that the new generation of real Nazi jurists had grown up so that the enforcement of such a new type of justice could be entrusted to them.

A survey of the new legal machinery gives the following picture:

Preventive Measures to make crimes "physically impossible" are first, protective custody (Schutzhaft), to be ordered by the Central Agency of the Secret Police (*Gestapo*) against potential enemies of the State; second, preventive custody (*Vorbeugungshaft*), to be ordered by the Reich Criminal Police Agency (*Reichskriminalpolizeiamt*) against potential criminals, anti-social individuals and work evaders. The police administration decides who is a potential enemy of the State. Criminal records are not essential. A judicial review or legal recourse is not allowed. In the confinement orders against Jews we can find given as reason, "Jew, therefore, work-evader". Indeterminate sentences result in confinement in concentration camps which have been established in Germany and in the occupied countries. The number of political or criminal enemies of the State, confined by administrative decisions, is several hundred thousand. Sixty per cent of them are between the ages of 20 and 45. Because the administration does not trust these prisoners, they are not used for any military purpose, but are forced to work at stone breaking and at draining projects.

The third preventive measure is internment in prisons, special institutions, or camps (*Sicherungsverwahrung*), to be ordered by the Criminal Courts in connection with criminal cases. This procedure is based on the 1934 amendment



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to the German Criminal Code. Between 1934 and 1940 about 15,000 persons classed as professional criminals, habitual drunkards and drug addicts were interned for indeterminate sentences by the Criminal Courts.

And the fourth is against sex offenders. Potential sex offenders may be interned in concentration camps by order of the Reich Criminal Police Agency. For instance, homosexual persons may be interned by order of Section II B, the newly created Reich Central Agency against Homosexuality (*Reichszentrale zur Bekampfung der Homosexualitat*). Release can be obtained, as a rule, after "voluntary" castration. The Criminal Courts, further, order the castration of habitually recidivist sex offenders. Between 1934 and 1940, about 2,000 castration orders were issued. The castration measures should not be confused with the numerous sterilization orders, issued for eugenic reasons by the Eugenic Courts (*Erbgesundheitsgerichte*).

Punitive measures are further tools of the new system. The selection of the type of court and of the procedure chosen depends on the degree to which the crime is of importance for the community of the nationals (*Volksgemeinschaft*).

The trial "judge" in cases of attacks against the Fuehrer and his inner circle is the Chief of the Gestapo himself, with sole and final jurisdiction. He acts as the punitive arm of the Fuehrer and calls himself the "Supreme Judge over Life and Death" (*Oberster Gerichtsherr*). The secret and summary procedure results only in a death sentence or dismissal of the case. The trial takes place before the Gestapo Chief in order to confine knowledge of it to a small circle of leaders of the S.S. (*Schutzstaffel*).

The crimes against the community are under the sole and final jurisdiction of the "High Court against the Enemies of the People" (*Volksgerichtshof*) in Berlin. In this category belong espionage, treason, high treason. Other crimes against the community are under the jurisdiction of the Special Courts (*Sondergerichte*); for instance, destructive criticism, opposition, and sabotage of any kind against the spiritual, administrative, economic or military aims and organizations of the Third Reich; and certain crimes committed with weapons or during a blackout.

Crimes of lesser importance in the new national sense are under the jurisdiction of a single judge (*Einzelrichter*), for instance, theft. More serious crimes, such as manslaughter and perjury, are under the jurisdiction of a Correctional Chamber (*Strafkammer*) consisting of three judges.

Criminal Courts for special groups are the Court Martial for the military forces and the civil population of military areas, and the Courts for the Police and the S.S. (*Polizei- und S.S.-Gerichte*). The main cogs of the machine for the protection of the home front "against the political and criminal enemies of the people are the concentration camps and the Special Courts".

A new "attack of the internal enemy against the State started with the outbreak of the war in September, 1939" according to a statement of Mr. Roland Freisler, German Under-Secretary of Justice, "because every new phase of life serves as a chance for the parasites and the criminals." The following "internal battlefields" have been stressed in the official Nazi publications of the first two years of the war.

During the first weeks of the war numerous crimes were perpetrated, due to the blackout and the loneliness of the highways caused by traffic restrictions. For instance, it was possible for one thief, between October 21 and December 1, 1939 to break into and steal from 22 different cars which were parked in the streets of Berlin. The official German reports also discuss the increase in highway robberies and thefts during drinking bouts in times of blackout. The stealing of fruit during hours of air raid alarms has been frequent in rural districts. A most serious problem is the hit-run driver of the blackout. In the opinion of the Reich Criminal Police, most of these criminals are occasional offenders "as the professional criminals have been put behind iron bars through our preventive measures". . . . "The situation should be improved by increasing our police patrol system." Since this improvement can not be accomplished on account of the shortage of officers and gasoline, a deterrent effect is hoped for through providing the death penalty for most blackout crimes.

Crimes which endanger the German potential —all kinds of sabotage—form a specific group. The decrees of September 6 and November 25, 1939 provide as penalties the death sentence or imprisonment.

The following trials of incendiaries held for burning farmers' barns within a three-month period may illustrate the situation:

Heinz Voellger, 19 years old, farm hand, damage 4,000 dollars, death sentence, Special Court Berlin.

Fritz Krause, 19 years old, farm hand, damage, 8,000 dollars, death sentence, Special Court East Prussia.

Ludwig Bernitt, 19 years old, farmhand, damage 9,000 dollars, two cases, two death sentences, Special Court East Prussia.

Frieda Loerzer, 22 years old, farm hand, damage 10,000 dollars, death sentence, Special Court East Prussia.

Hermann Preuss, 28 years old, damage 6,000 dollars, death sentence, Special Court East Prussia.



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Obtaining money under false pretense from relatives of soldiers is regarded as a crime against the community of nationals. The following trials, held within a period of three months, are illustrations:

Wilhelm Endres, damage 30 dollars, death sentence, Special Court Munich.

Arthur Britt, damage 40 dollars, death sentence, Special Court East Prussia.

Hermann Stroemer, damage 120 dollars, death sentence, Special Court East Prussia.

Johann Dietz, damage 150 dollars, death sentence, Special Court Bamberg.

Kurt Teworrek, damage 200 dollars, death sentence, Special Court East Prussia.

Illegal contact with war prisoners is regarded as endangering the moral war potential. These cases are very common in rural districts to which Polish prisoners have been sent to help with the crops. I take the following cases from the scanty reports of one week: the owner of a candy store in Magdeburg was arrested for having sold candy to a prisoner. A farmer from Eschbach was sent to prison for having mailed a small package with a friendly letter to a sick prisoner who had worked on his farm. In Stolp, a twenty-year-old girl was punished for having had relations with a Polish war prisoner.

"He who acts contrary to the regulations regarding the rationing of foodstuff, clothing and coal does not commit a petty offense but is a parasite on the body of the people and must be wiped out," says the German Ministry of Justice. This refers to the severe punishment threatening those who have any connection with the black markets flourishing in the Reich. Here are some of the crimes committed in Berlin in the Spring of 1941: buying, without tickets, one pound of coffee for $10; one pound of tea for $30; one pound of butter for $4; one pound of meat for $3; one egg for 30 cents. The law enforcement officials are well aware of the large number of crimes of this kind. The police try to counteract them by searching households frequently for foodstuff, and the Special Courts deal severely with offenders. For instance: Death sentence against an official of the City of Koenigsberg for selling food tickets and many years' imprisonment against his accomplices. The Special Court in Berlin sentenced a woman to ten years' imprisonment for selling meat without food tickets during a period of six weeks.

Intentional listening to foreign broadcasts and the spreading of information received through them are punished with death, imprisonment or fine according to a decree of September 1, 1939. The Under-Secretary of Justice declared "this is a crime not because of the undesirable curiosity, but because it represents intellectual self-mutilation and forms the vortex of a defeatist area." In spite of the threat of severe punishment, the German police have dealt with 28,500 charges of this kind since September, 1939. More than 90 per cent of the cases were dropped as being petty or unsolved. Twenty-five hundred listeners were, however, arrested and about 2,000 have been convicted. The 28,500 charges probably concern only a small fraction of the actual listeners.

The fight against sex offenders has played an important role since the outbreak of the war because sex offenders, especially homosexuals, take advantage of the blackout. The number of sex offenses had increased considerably during the last two years before the war. During the years 1934 and 1935, 37,146 sex offenders were sentenced, compared with 101,439 charges in 1937 and 1938! About 14 per cent of all sex offenders in 1939 were juveniles under 21 years of age.

Among the perpetrators of highway robberies and thefts during the last years before the war and during the war, the number of juveniles has increased greatly. The government, therefore, has decreed that juvenile gangsters over 16 years of age may be punished in the same manner as adults. The official comment on the decree of October 4, 1939, runs as follows: "Owing to the emergency, we must recognize earlier than in ordinary times the signs which the immature gangster carries on his forehead indicating that he will develop into an adult enemy of society. The decision on his moral and intellectual maturity is an easy and natural one and does not require scientific discussion."

The decisive factors in the increase of juvenile delinquency are the general disintegration of morals, as well as the concentration of adolescent gangsters in the Hitler Youth. The overnight shelters (*Nestabende*) are a breeding place for sex offenses and also for the formation of gangs. For several months a gang of thirty boys of seventeen to eighteen years terrorized the citizens of Hannover during the blackouts.

The protection of the home front "against the political and criminal enemies of the people" is the main objective of the war policy of the Nazi law enforcement agencies. To summarize, its methods are the world-wide extension of the German jurisdiction over foreign and German nationals; the establishment of a *Blitzkrieg*-system, executed by the internment orders of the police and by the summary procedure of the Special Courts; the adjustment of the conception of crime to the new conception of totalitarianism; the threat of the death penalty for all crimes endangering directly or indirectly the new order or the war potential. Despite the fact that this system surrounds the offender with enormous risks of quick and severe punishment, a wave of war-time crimes overflows Germany.



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# THE UNDERGROUND REPORTER

## *on France, Hungary and Portugal*

### *Berlin's Confidence*

"BERLIN has complete confidence in the Marshal and the Admiral; this is an absolute and certain fact." Thus a correspondent from Berlin writes to the *Journal de Genève,* on October 12, 1941.

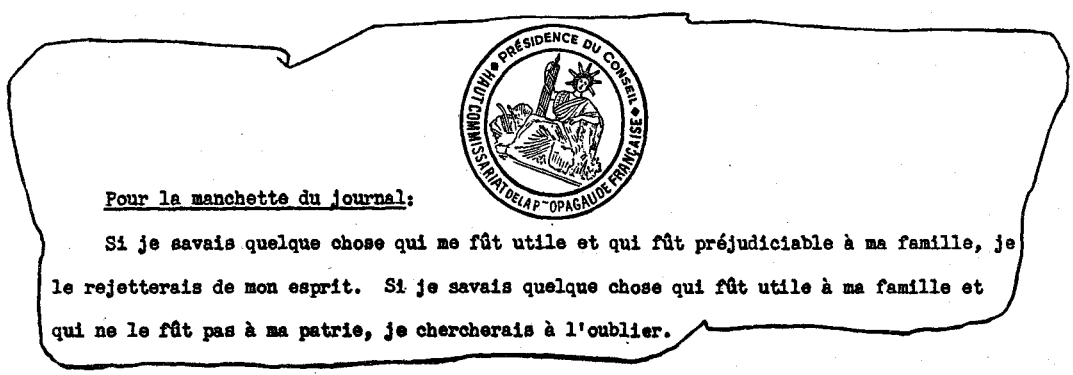
Nothing more than that statement is needed to justify the ever-growing underground movement in France against Pétain and Darlan. The French underground knows the German confidence in its marionettes and is renovating hopes and resistance with admirable vigor. The apathy which followed disaster is being cured by the executions of innocents and by the "justice of the Marshal." In the political world both in occupied and unoccupied France former Deputies or Senators opposed to collaboration with the Nazis are regularly meeting, even in Vichy. Especially in the air force there is a strong sentiment for Free France. Since the declaration of war by the Axis on the United States the slogan is circulating all over France: "Liberty cannot be routed from the world and the French Republic cannot be destroyed."

Against this widespread psychological uprising the Vichy Government is trying to act through the press. The news of the shooting of two well-known French journalists, Lucien Sampaix and Gabriel Péri—the underground reporter bows his head in memory of these friends of freedom of the press—gives an idea of what the Vichy press is.

### *The Vichy Press*

AS in other totalitarian states it is under the strongest, most arbitrary control of the public authorities. No law protects it. No appeal to any tribunals against the decisions of the Vichy bureaucracy is permitted. The Vichy press lives under a regime where the changing will of the government, itself under the heel of the invader, is the only rule. Censorship forbids publication of certain articles and news at six o'clock in the evening; releases them two hours later; a few hours later on a telephone call from Paris the news is taken back. Orders emanating from the President of the Council are sent out constantly by Mr. Paul Marion, the Vichy Goebbels. By these instructions the newspapers are obliged to publish not only news sent by the official agency but even to give special headlines to the news, captions, drawings or maps, etc. If the newspapers do not follow these instructions they are threatened by severe punishment, possibly even suppression of the paper. And the paper can never indicate that the news is of official origin.

I am reproducing one of these orders with the official stamp of the President of the Council, the high commissar of French propaganda. It is an order for the text of a newspaper side note (French newspapers have on the masthead special side notes which express usually the most pungent editorial opinion of the day). This particular side note appeared at the moment when the Vichy Government was asking French mothers, fathers, and brothers to denounce publicly the members of the family who were underground workers: "If I knew something that was useful to me and bad for my family I would get it out of my head. If I knew something helpful to my family but not good for my country I would forget about it."



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## An Editor Writes

A SECRETLY sent letter from a well known French editor who got some press news about the defense efforts in the United States is more revealing on the whole situation than a long list of facts would be:

"Thank you for the documents safely received. You can hardly imagine our joy in reading at last information and articles written without any restrictions. Alas, where is our old freedom of the press? Censorship under Nazi pressure is terrible even here in the zone which is scornfully called free. I blushed while reading your notes because they showed up the lies we are obliged to print at present. But do not worry. Our work goes on in a clandestine way and all your information and articles go into our mimeographed sheets, which are distributed by the thousand. Thus the seed which we miraculously received has already found a good soil and we do not doubt that the best fruit will result. At present when Hitlerism is suffering its first rout, thanks to the admirable Russian resistance, we must consolidate all our energies. Documents and articles that you can get to us here will be the greatest contribution to this work. Everything is of interest to us. But what interests us most are clear views of the gigantic effort made by the United States in the industrial and technical fields. Here in France we do not doubt for a moment that America will soon enter the war. But now we are obliged to print daily articles imposed upon us, stating specifically that the American strikes have entirely paralyzed the United States industrial power. Can you convey to us through our underground connections (the only ones that remain to us) facts to counteract this cunning German propaganda which discourages even the hardest thinking people? We await with impatience all news from outside. We do not know how to thank you if you do it. Believe all our sentiments of deep recognition of what you are doing. Vive la France libre!"

## Synchronization

THE whole Vichy press has been synchronized through "notes of orientation and information," their official name. These notes are kept strictly secret. The publishers and editors of the newspapers are responsible personally for the secrecy. Yet the underground movement succeeds in finding out most of them. I give here an example of the latest notes regarding the Russian-German war: "It is imperative to suppress comments and headlines affirming or hinting that the Germans are held up in Russia. Too many errors along these lines have recently been permitted. An unlucky newspaper has published an article praising Marshal Budyenny, representing this man as a legendary hero. That must not happen again. Another newspaper put a question mark after the following phrase: 'The German army realized their essential aims on the Russian front?' That is a very bad slip which must not be repeated. If the notes of the General Secretary of Information are not followed we must once more remind you that the severest action will be taken against the guilty newspapers." Those in the Vichy Government who are drafting and sending out these notes are under direct orders from Admiral Darlan who in turn has them from Paris through the Vichy Ambassador de Brinon.

## Reaction

BUT the effect of the controlled press is not so great as one might think. Often newspapers are stuck up on walls accompanied by big inscriptions against Pétain or Darlan. That is the uncontrolled popular literature of liberty loving France. It has spread so widely that the Ministry for National Education recently had to address a special circular to the Deans of the schools and universities listing severe punishments for professors and school masters who do not lock up the chalk after lessons. The pupils are using the chalk for all sorts of inscriptions on the walls and the sidewalks and even on the typical black overalls of their comrades. Truth is speaking through the mouths of children. Nearly everywhere when a schoolboy is tormented by his comrades the most humiliating sign put on his clothes is the Nazi swastika.

## Disgust

TO understand what the controlled Vichy press is I give herewith some exerpts:

*"The victory of* 1918 *was more deadly than the defeat of* 1870." *Revue Universelle,* November 1941 issue, by Count Saint-Aulaire. It is the magazine of the *Action Francaise,* the Royalist Party organ. Count de Saint-Aulaire is the former Ambassador of France to various countries.

*"Deadly victory? The word is audacious, it may shock and perhaps surprise. But if you think it over it corresponds to reality."* Thus begins Mr. Havard de la Montagne in the *Action Francaise* of November 12, 1941, the authorized expression of Vichy diplomats.

*"The American aims toward a world wide hegemony constitutes a very grave menace for the existance of Europe,"* writes the so-called National Socialist



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Vichy daily *L'Effort* on November 7.

On November 7, 1941 a certain Captain Casabianca, assistant to Col. Labonne, head of the French Legion against Bolshevism, writes in the weekly paper, *Gringoire,* an article on the legion and collaboration: "All the German officers who were selected for the occupation of France have come back on leave to Germany, where our joyful hearts are overwhelmed by the idea of a European continental collaboration." He then gives a long description of a field march held for the legion somewhere in Poland: "the hour is for meditation. On a small field altar which the sun brings out in pure whiteness the holy mass is celebrated. Before the fight the legion prays. Trumpets accustomed to martial music accompany sacred hymns. The priest lifts the consecrated wafer. God will protect the defenders of the Christian civilization. . . . After the silence the notes of the Marsellaise burst out. Many eyes are filled with tears. The national French hymn precedes the national German hymns. The French Legion against Bolshevism marches on, goose-stepping."

## *Free Underground Press*

THIS is the Vichy press against which the underground press stands up more and more. Here I reproduce the masthead of a new illegal paper, *Vérités.*

From this independent newspaper, which quotes the famous phrase by Marshal Pétain: "I hate the lies which did us so much harm," a passage from the editorial on the foreign policy is translated for the better understanding of the figures it gives on another page: "Collaboration is uni-lateral. That is to say, forced aid is given by France to Germany, to keep its war machine working on the basis of figures we give, which are only a modest part of the real total. We call for the creation after the war of a reconciled continent. But we refuse to come to reconciliation under the sponsorship of Germany. That would mean for France (and we choose our terms carefully) a material and spiritual birth foreseen, conceived and organized by the present masters of the Reich. A reconciled Europe does not mean for us what it does on the other side of the Rhine—a notion of a master people (*Herrenvolk*) surrounded by slave people (*Dienervölker*). It must mean a continent where each nation will re-develop its own virtues for the general welfare of the community. If Germany one day gives real proof, through acts, not through words, that she will join such action we may be ready to revise our attitude in loyalty. There is no such question today because not one such proof has been given. The Marshal and the Admiral have all the cards. And they clearly want to use them for the policy of collaboration. We are therefore forced to acknowledge as a hypothesis that: France is going to collaborate with Germany in the military domain. Well, no. France will not tolerate that. Occupied France, the most vibrant and patriotic France, as well as Free France will not submit to a policy contrary at once to our honor and to our interests. Contrary to our honor because we must not undertake anything against our former allies. Contrary to our honor in whose name we refuse to flatter a temporary victor with the blood of our soldiers. Contrary to our interest because acting like that the government

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**JOURNAL INDÉPENDANT** **N° 9** **le 25 Août 1941**

# VÉRITÉS

**« Je hais les mensonges qui vous ont tant fait de mal. »** Philippe PÉTAIN

"VÉRITÉS" n'est à la solde d'aucun groupement d'intérêts particuliers, d'aucun parti politique, d'aucune Puissance étrangère Son souci constant est de faire connaître au public français des informations contrôlées et des opinions qu'il ne peut trouver dans les organes de la propagande officielle. Nos rédacteurs, comme les articles qu'ils écrivent, s'inspirent de notre seule devise :
"Français nous sommes.... Français nous resterons"

## VOTRE OPINION ET LA NOTRE

essentiel de la collaboration, aucune précision nouvelle ne nous est donnée. Jusqu'à ce que des preuves contraires nous soient données, nous la considérons comme unilatérale : une aide forcée de la France à l'Allemagne pour entretenir sa machine de guerre et dont les chiffres que nous citons plus loin ne donnent qu'un modeste aperçu.



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would subscribe to a real alliance with the Reich. If the latter should win the war the Marshal would have some excuse in the name of a realistic policy, though contrary to our dignity. *But the truth is that Germany will not win the war.* The gigantic American power prepares herself for a fight in which she will enter very soon with full force against a wounded enemy. It is America which will in victory and in peace be the outstanding factor. That being so, the interest of France is clear. We make ours the slogan of the collaborationists. It is we who say: "We must be on the side of the strongest. France must therefore join with the United States. . . ." So writes the real free and underground press of a France that Fascist and Nazi force will not suppress, a press which despises above all appeasement with whoever is against liberty.

## *Spoliation*

*Vérités* gives in its August 25, 1941 issue the figures of German requisitions on France and of exports of all sorts of manufactured goods and raw materials from France to Germany. The figures herewith reproduced are headed by this explanation: "Shipments from France to Germany represent the real economic spoliation that some call 'collaboration.' Practically our industry is deprived of all this material: wool for our children, leather whose absence obliges us to wear wooden soles, glass whose absence prevents the druggists from bottling their medicines."

★

**(The figures given by "*Verites*")**

(Official figures given in thousands of tons)

| Kind of shipment | February | March | April | May | June | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Iron ore | 45 | .. | .. | 22 | 568 | 635 |
| Scrap metal | 45 | .. | .. | .. | 51 | 96 |
| Hematite | 46 | 38 | 38 | .. | .. | 122 |
| Hematite raw iron | 9 | .. | .. | .. | 5 | 14 |
| Scrap-iron | 130 | 90 | 40 | 40 | 60 | 360 |
| Commercial scrap-iron | 20 | .. | .. | .. | 15 | 35 |
| Precious metals | 40 | 20 | 45 | 30 | 30 | 165 |
| Kaolin | 2.5 | 1.5 | 0.5 | 1.5 | 1.5 | 7.5 |
| Jute | 3.5 | 3.5 | .. | .. | .. | 7 |
| Whale oil | 3 | .. | .. | .. | .. | 3 |
| Raw wool | 0.5 | .. | .. | .. | .. | 0.5 |
| Carded textile material | .. | .. | .. | 3 | 4 | 7 |
| Hides | 4.5 | 0.4 | 3.2 | 3.5 | 3 | 14.6 |
| Leather | .. | .. | 0.2 | 0.2 | 0.6 | 1 |
| Flax | 20 | .. | .. | .. | .. | 20 |
| Nitrogen | 100 | .. | .. | .. | .. | 100 |
| Engine oil | .. | 0.7 | .. | .. | .. | 0.7 |
| Phenol | .. | 1 | .. | .. | .. | 1 |
| Milk casein | .. | 1 | 0.8 | 0.4 | .. | 2.2 |
| Rags | .. | 20 | 2 | 10.6 | .. | 32.6 |
| Special seeds | .. | 1 | 0.7 | 0.8 | .. | 2.5 |
| Bioxyde of manganese | .. | .. | 0.6 | 2.8 | .. | 3.4 |
| Shoes | .. | .. | 0.2 | 0.2 | 0.2 | 0.6 |
| Molded glassware | .. | .. | 3 | .. | 0.5 | 3.5 |
| Rubber | .. | .. | 1 | 1.3 | 0.4 | 2.7 |
| Steel | .. | .. | .. | 15 | 15 | 30 |
| Log timber | .. | .. | .. | 10 | 24 | 34 |
| Timber | .. | .. | .. | 7 | 8.9 | 15.9 |
| Rabbit skins | .. | .. | .. | .. | 0.3 | 0.3 |
| Soda | .. | .. | .. | .. | 16 | 16 |
| Caustic soda | .. | .. | .. | .. | 4 | 4 |
| Lime for blast-furnaces | .. | .. | .. | .. | 20 | 20 |
| Limestone | .. | .. | .. | .. | 12 | 12 |

Total: 1,769,000 tons



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| | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Vegetables | 5 | 5 | 8 | 6.3 | .. | 24.3 |
| Vegetable seeds | .. | 0.25 | .. | .. | .. | 0.25 |
| Wine | in total: 1,500,000 hectolitres | | | | | |
| Wine from Gironde | .. | 10.3 | .. | 19.7 | .. | 30,000 hectolitres |
| Spirits | in total: 22,000 hectolitres | | | | | |
| Cognac | .. | 0.5 | 0.8 | 0.8 | .. | 2.1 |
| Brandy | .. | .. | .. | 0.75 | .. | 0.75 |
| Bananas | .. | .. | 0.9 | 0.9 | .. | 1.8 |
| Vegetable preserves | .. | .. | 6 | .. | 2.5 | 8.5 |
| Fish preserves | .. | .. | .. | .. | 4 | 4 |
| Chocolate nuts | .. | .. | .. | .. | 2 | 2 |
| Wheat | .. | .. | 25 | 15 | .. | 40 |
| Live stock on the hoof | 4,000 head of cattle; 3,000 head of sheep | | | | | |

★

To these statistics on foodstuffs *Vérités* adds the following facts: "German authorities requisition a monthly average of 16,000 head of cattle; therefore, if the 14,000 head of cattle mentioned above are added to this requisition, we have delivered to Germany in five months 94,000 head of cattle, that is 25,000 tons of meat. May the housewives who stand in line in front of empty butchershops remember those figures! If we have no wine, no fish, no meat, no vegetables, no shoes, no clothes, it is to the Germans that we owe it."

## *Czechoslovaks in France*

CERTAIN officials of the Vichy administration are still trying to oppose the infernal organization of the Gestapo and its puppet police, but their efforts are only too often discovered. The subaltern officials of Vichy, who are the best from the point of view of resistance, may somehow escape the control of the Gestapo. Their task can be facilitated only by and understanding attitude on the part of the consular authorities of the democracies. In this field the case of the Czechoslovak Consulate in Marseilles, a typical instance, deserves particular mention. The Consul General was Vladimir Vochoc. He was deported in March but is now safe beyond the range of the Gestapo. We can therefore reveal his story.

There are in France more than ten thousand Czechoslovak workers who came, after Munich, to work in national defense factories. They are now in Vichy concentration camps deprived of any protection, Vichy having by September, 1940, canceled, on the order of Berlin, all the diplomatic ties with the countries invaded by Germany. They needed protection and national help which they got through the consulate, one of which was that of Marseilles. In January, 1938, at the request of President Eduard Benes, the French government guaranteed the *exequatur* to Consul Vochoc. On October 15, 1940, Rodellec du Porzic, a naval officer and director of the police in Marseilles, ordered the Consulate to remove its flag and coat of arms. After his refusal to do so, M. Vochoc was obliged by the Prefect of the Bouches du Rhone Department to conform with the instructions of the police, "this being indispensable in the present situation of France."

M. Vochoc gave way in order to obtain permission to act in favor of his fellow-citizens if only in the capacity of a consul winding up the business of his service. This arrangement was agreed upon by the Vichy Foreign Office, not without reservation and recommendations "to be extremely prudent, particularly with regard to external signs of the Consulate's activity."

Suddenly, on February 17, 1941, M. Vochoc was called by the Commissar of the Sureté de la Police d'Etat, M. C. Richard, who notified him of the instructions signed by M. Peyrouton, the Home Secretary. "M. Vochoc," ran the instructions, "must personally abstain completely from any manifestation of authority corresponding to consular attributions. Particularly, he must definitely renounce the use of all signs, symbols, stationery, and stamps which give the impression that something approaching a Consulate still exists." The commissar wanted M. Vochoc to sign the order but he refused on the well-known ground that in international and consular law, only as high ranking official as the Prefect could deal with a Consul General. Having asked to be received by the Prefect, M. Vochoc met a refusal but pending a definite decision and for the sake of the Czechoslovaks in France, he continued his task suppressing even the use of Consulate letterheads. On March 17, however, a police agent went to the office and asked M. Vochoc to accompany him immediately to the Chief of the Marseilles municipal police, an official named Gaubert. This man read an order from Vichy stating that the Etat Francais enjoined the "former Czechoslovak Consul" to reside in Lubersac, a small vil-



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lage of the Correze. He was, the order went on, not to be granted the privilege of leaving the premises of the Sureté until the departure of the train twenty-four hours later.

M. Vochoc protested and asked permission to get in touch with his first secretary, his wife, and the United States Consul, Fullerton, who was the dean of the Southern France consular corps. He was allowed to call his wife, but met with a flat refusal regarding the United States Consul, who, despite his later complaints, never succeeded in getting M. Vochoc back to Marseilles. The latter had to sleep on a chair in the office of the police and, the following evening, he was taken off by several policemen to Lubersac without the slightest knowledge of what had happened to the Consulate or to his fellow countrymen.

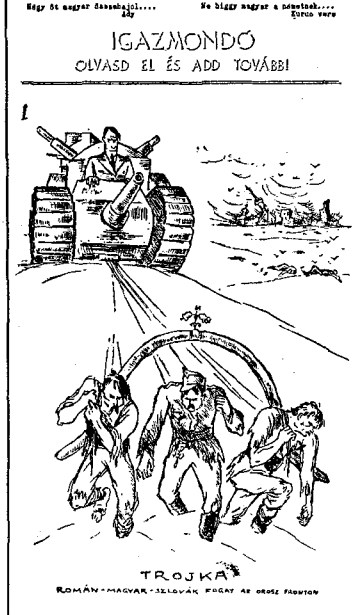
## *Hungarian Underground vs. "Hitribgoergoeb"*

IN the Hungarian language a wonderful definition of Nazism, looking like a pure native word, has been invented by some Magyar Lewis Carroll: Hitribgoergoeb. It is just a union of the first letters of Hitler, Ribbentrop, Goering, and Goebbels.

Against this monster, the Hitribgoergoeb, the Hungarian Underground is very active among the peasants and the workers. As in other oppressed countries, there is an illegal press, political and humorous. Of special vigor is a mimeographed illustrated sheet distributed all through Hungary called *Igazmondo*. It appeals through illustration and quotations to the old sentiment of freedom of the Hungarian common people, oppressed for centuries by the magnates and land owners who once served the Hapsburg despots as they now serve the Fascist tyrants. Great poets and bards of Hungarian freedom like Petoefi, Ady, and others, whose poems and ballads are known in the smallest village, are the inspiration for drawings by the underground patriots. These artists often picture the desperate food situation.

I reproduce some drawings from *Igazmondo* and its masthead.

No. 1 represents a modern trojka dragged through Russia by Rumanian, Magyar, and Slovak peasants for the glory of Hitler.




No. 2 shows the greedy Nazi soldier eating everything the Hungarian soil produces while a Hungarian peasant says to her son: "After that, only the bones will be left for us."

No. 3 is a famous poem by Petoefi on the statue in the marshes, which describes the allegorical figure of Hungary broken to pieces and deep in the mud: "Your beautiful figure, your noble face, soiled by those hideous creatures, lies in the marshes. . . ." The hideous creatures are those of the Hitribgoergoeb.

## *Portuguese Before Occupation*

PORTUGAL has been in the headlines since June, 1940 when it became the last European country having peacetime relations not only with Great Britain but also with the Americas. The mail, books, and newspapers would have been suppressed as completely as the national independence of the countries invaded by Hitler if it had not been for Portugal. Because of its exceptional position it became the center of political intrigue,



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military espionage and underground connections.

The Underground Reporter cannot pass over in silence what is going on in Lisbon now, when Portugal may have to yield to German demands.

## *The Neutral Tool In German Hands*

THE Gestapo and Dr. Goebbels have consistently valued neutrality as an efficient tool for their activities. Even before the invasion of France, under the cover of Portuguese neutrality they had organized in Lisbon a complicated and efficient machine for making use of the rush of refugees to come. Shortly after the war broke out, the British embassy had a staff of twenty people, porters and ushers included. The Germans had at their legation fifty-four well-trained "diplomats," and now they have more than 300 "officials."

As always in the Nazi organization, however, the official part —legation and consulates—is the less important. The real centers of the Gestapo and propaganda evil are the travel agencies, hotels de luxe, and amusement places. Among the travel agencies there is one, the *Sitmar,* established by fascist capital, representing the official fascist trans-Atlantic lines. The regular tourist trade has long since vanished but the agency is being constantly expanded. All the employes invariably come from Germany or Italy. They are young, handsome, and great linguists. They have been picked to look as little German or Italian as possible. The work of such a travel agency is well illustrated by the following episode. In June, 1941, the Portuguese authorities were impressed by the number of trustworthy bits of information pouring in, hinting at the existence of a real arsenal in the back-rooms of the Sitmar Travel Agency. The denunciations came from allied countries and the government had to take steps. A search uncovered substantial quantities of machine gun parts, ammunition and hand grenades. The Portuguese police wanted to arrest the travel agents. However, Nazi pressure put on the Salazar government was so great that nobody was arrested and the arms were not even seized. The German legation explained that the arms were temporarily stored for trans-shipment to South America.

## *Travel Agencies*

Travel agencies also supplied a considerable number of passengers, all with perfect passports, identification cards and unfrozen money, to the lines traveling between Lisbon and New York or Rio de Janeiro. All these passengers felt an urgent need to radio their friends or relatives left behind in Lisbon. Harmless looking messages stating how fine the voyage was or how well the sender was feeling went out whenever the steamer encountered an American boat or a British vessel.

Another special task for the travel agencies is to organize contraband shipments of goods destined for Germany from all over Africa and the Americas. Generally, this is done in the following manner. The goods arrive in Lisbon with British navicerts consigned to Portuguese addresses. Then they are dispatched to small towns like Figuiara da Foz. There they are put in storage for Portuguese merchants. Indeed, small quantities are even sold to retail purchasers. A few weeks later when the attention of the allied agents has been diverted to other matters the goods are sent as local cargoes through Portuguese and Spanish waters to Vigo and Santander where they are delivered to the official German agents, who convoy them with the consent of Franco and Pétain by rail to Germany.

The travel agencies also supply sailors who never sail but who are always in the main port of Portugal to strike up acquaintance with American, Danish, and Norwegian seamen arriving on British ships. These "sailors" and their women friends treat the seamen to food and drink and even give them money. All sorts of promises are made to prevent them from shipping again in British boats. Some are perhaps persuaded to attempt to sabotage ships sailing for England. Sabotaging of vessels carrying young Czechs, Frenchmen, Poles, and other refugees from continental Europe is especially recommended. Luckily, British precautions have been sufficiently effective, and the Nazis have failed to interfere with a single sailing of such vessels.

Other employes of Fascist and Nazi travel agencies assume the guise of refugees, become friendly with Portuguese fishermen and go along on fishing trips. Thus they gather information on the functioning of the British blockade, the fishermen often pointing out British patrol vessels or explaining sea warfare outside Portuguese territorial waters. I know the case of a Nazi woman employe of a travel agency who played the part of a Belgian refugee. She really had double employment as she also had a job at the Lisbon branch of the German General Electric Company. In that capacity she went all through the boarding houses and hotels of Lisbon and made up exact files of refugees arriving in Portugal illegally. Some of the "refugees" are Germans of Brazilian birth who, of course, speak perfect Portuguese.

## *Fascist Political War*

The Fascist political war against the Underground and the Allies is waged in Lisbon mainly in the big hotels, night clubs, and restaurants of doubtful reputation. There is a well-known ballet group in the Ar-



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cadia night club, the girls speaking fluent Portuguese, French, and Italian, and never availing themselves of their native tongue. They are regular Gestapo agents with precise instructions as to the patrons with whom they are to get acquainted. There is the Olympia night club, operated by so called Spanish artists. I can assure you that it was one of these "Spanish artists" who got the first information that the Dutch Prime Minister would arrive in Lisbon within the next few days. The news was brought to her by a Hollander from London who spent a few hours in the Olympia night club. The Dutch statesman's kidnapping, which took place shortly afterwards at the very door of the Lufthansa in Lisbon, was the direct result of information given by the Gestapo agents of the Olympia.

Many hotels like the Avenida Palace and the Metropol on Rossio Square are in the Gestapo's hands. The doormen are Nazi agents. If the hotel you prefer is crowded, the doorman always gives you the address of another under Gestapo direction. The mail is often delayed 24 hours and every telephone line is tapped. The personnel is particularly eager, with the appearance of being helpful, to get identification papers from travelers to take to the police. Well-organized photostat bureaus quickly make copies of all papers. Once it happened that the doorman, having lost the papers which had been entrusted to him, offered to get a photostatic copy of all of them in less than an hour.

The Policia de Vigilancia e Defensa de Estado, also known as International Police, is entirely in the hands of the Gestapo and is one of the puppet police bodies of Mr. Himmler. The basis of this arrangement was established in October, 1940, at a meeting in Madrid which Himmler, Serrano Suner and high Portuguese officials attended. Since then the writer, Friederich Sieburg, author of "God in France," and correspondent of the Frankfurter Zeitung, has established his headquarters in Estoril, the Miami of Portugal. With Sieburg, topnotch German agents like Biefurn, Himmler's and Heidrich's associate, and Freiherr von Rheinbaben, the so-called liberal friend of Stresemann, are staying at the Estoril Palace with diplomatic passports.

## *The Gestapo Unifies the Iberian Peninsula*

THE Spanish port of Vigo on the Atlantic Ocean was chosen by the Gestapo as the best center for intrigue in the Iberian Peninsula. In a certain sense, Vigo represents the unification of Iberia under the swastika. In Lisbon counter-espionage is stronger than in Madrid, so a Spanish port is safer for them.

Vigo is well equipped for Nazi espionage and propaganda. Direct cables go from there to England, Germany, and South America. The port facilities were modernized by the Nazis during the Spanish Civil War. At the time of non-intervention, Vigo was the preferred port for ammunition from Germany and Italy. The land-and-sea airport was built by the Fascists and Nazis at the same time and has become a powerful weapon against democracy in the hands of the aggressors. Vigo is one of the most useful Atlantic U-boat bases of Germany. The town is crowded with Gestapo and Nazi officials organizing and directing everything. One foresees that a presumable invasion of Portugal will start from Vigo.

## A *FREE WORLD* CHECK LIST OF BOOKS

Due to lack of space, the Check List of books reviewed this month must be postponed to the February issue. It includes: Inter-American Solidarity, Edited by Walter H. C. Laves; Latin America, by William Lytle Schurz; On All Fronts, by Ralph Barton Perry; The Devil in France, by Lion Feuchtwanger; 12 Million Black Voices, by Richard Wright; Arms and the Aftermath, by Perrin Stryker; Introducing Australia, by C. Hartley Grattan; This Is the Victory, by Leslie D. Weatherhead; Looking Backward, by Edward Bellamy; Fountainheads of Freedom, by Irwin Edman, with Herbert W. Schneider; Mission to Moscow, by Joseph E. Davies; All That Seemed Final, by Joan Colebrook; Dragon Seed, by Pearl S. Buck; The Ivory Mischief, by Arthur Meeker, Jr.; Sensation Fair, by Egon Erwin Kisch; Remaking America, by Jay Franklin; Dragon's Teeth, by Upton Sinclair; War As a Social Institution, Edited by Jesse D. Clarkson and Thomas C. Cochran.

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## CORRECTION PLEASE!

In the December issue of FREE WORLD, on page 269, the September date should have read 1926, and on page 270 Senator de Monzie should have been mentioned instead of Pierre Laval.



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# Manchuria to Pearl Harbor—

## *a record which speaks for itself!*

### 1931

FROM THE NATION—*October* 14, 1931

". . . It is discouraging to note the lack of enthusiasm shown by the U. S. A. for the anti-war treaty when put to the test in the Manchurian crisis. If that is to be the attitude of the State Department whenever the Kellogg Pact is openly or covertly violated, it does not augur well for the future efforts to ban war by international agreement."

FROM THE NATION—*October* 21, 1931

"A firm stand at the beginning with Japan might possibly have avoided the hostilities which are daily increasing in violence."

### 1932

FROM THE NATION—*January* 6, 1932

"Japan today is an outlaw nation . . . running amuck in the family of nations. . . . We are firmly of the opinion that there ought to be a direct expression by our government of the indignation the American people feel for a treaty violation as unblushing and shameless as Germany's violation of its treaty with Belgium in 1914. Washington should . . . withdraw our American ambassador from Tokio."

FROM THE NATION—*February* 17, 1932

"The Administration's astonishment over the Japanese invasion of China proper would be ludicrous if it contained fewer possibilities of danger. It is now apparent even to the messengers in the State Department that it utterly failed from the outset to comprehend the scope of Japan's program or the determination behind it. Less than two months ago it was cheerfully assuring the press that the Japanese would never venture as far south as Chinchow, in Southern Manchuria. Today their guns and airplanes are raining death upon the heart of Shanghai."

FROM THE NATION—*September* 28, 1932

"If Japan's challenge is not met, the world peace machinery will be dealt a blow from which it may not recover."

### 1933

FROM THE NATION—*January* 18, 1933

"A challenge to humanity—that is what Japan's latest action in Northern China is. . . . We are for an embargo without the loss of a day."

### 1935

FROM THE NATION—*February* 6, 1935

"Unless the U. S. and the Western powers find some means of checking Japanese aggression, we shall be faced with a gigantic social upheaval of which the outcome cannot be predicted."

FROM THE NATION—*March* 19, 1935

"If we allow the Open Door to be closed in the Peiping area, it can never again be opened except by war. Further indecision not only plays into the hands of the Japanese militarists but is likely to lead us into a conflict. If Japan is to be stopped short of war that can only be achieved by the joint action of all the great powers. If they capitulate completely to Japanese militarism, they run a grave risk of being confronted with a militant Japanese empire embracing virtually the whole of Eastern Asia."

### 1937

FROM THE NATION—*September* 18, 1937

"Alone, Britain can do little to stop Japanese aggression. But with the cooperation of France, the United States, and the Soviet Union, it would be possible, as in 1885 and 1922, to force Japan to give up its immediate territorial ambitions in China. Under present circumstances this can only be achieved through American leadership."

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FROM THE NATION—*December* 18, 1937

"The Nanking incident should serve to arouse American public opinion to the need for joining the other powers in collective economic action to restrain aggression."

## 1938

FROM THE NATION—*September* 10, 1938

"We must act now—visit Congressional candidates before election, support labor in its refusal to handle Japanese goods, boycott all Japanese products."

## 1939

FROM THE NATION—*January* 21, 1939

"The diplomatic struggle for the preservation of the Open Door shrinks to unimportant proportions compared to developments going on behind the scenes. Even if the legal foundation of Western privileges—concessions, treaty rights, extraterritoriality—should stay intact, Western influence and Western interests in China are threatened. They are threatened by a purposeful Japanese policy which aims at destroying the narrow basis of Western activities. Political, cultural, and economic campaigns are coordinated and used to undermine the White Man's foothold in Eastern Asia. Radical dreamers in Japan already envisage an Asiatic Asia, with British influence pushed back to the Red Sea, with American influence pushed back to Hawaii."

## 1940

FROM THE NATION—*August* 10, 1940

"The present leaders of Japan are afflicted with the same mania that dominates the Führer of the Third Reich. It is a sickness which can only be cured by defeat."

## 1941

FROM THE NATION—*August* 9, 1941

"An embargo on war materials to Japan is now necessary, not to defend the Chinese people, but to defend the American people. . . . It is time we made some little sacrifice for the millions who have been fighting our battle in the East while our oil, copper, and steel barons made a profit on the blood they lost. . . . America's honor and America's defense are at stake in the embargo question."

FROM THE NATION—*August* 30, 1941

"If tomorrow Japanese troops . . . should march across the borders of Thai, and if the day after tomorrow President Roosevelt should ask Congress to declare war on Japan, Congress would adopt the necessary resolution . . . by an overwhelming majority. And if Japan, en passant, should make a hostile gesture in the direction of the Philippine Islands . . . the vote would be unanimous. No isolationists would be heard discussing the 5,000 miles of water between San Francisco and Tokio. . . . This war would be a necessary war. . . ."

FROM THE NATION—*September* 13, 1941

"How much faith can the common people of the world have in our four freedoms and our eight points if we go on playing this kind of blundering, old-style politics in the Far East?"

FROM THE NATION—*October* 25, 1941

"If General Tojo were told in unmistakable language that any further aggression on the part of Japan would mean war with the United States, even he might hesitate to take the fatal plunge. To this degree, the decision as to war or peace in the East rests with Washington."


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